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आत्मा पुराणं वेदानाम्



ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

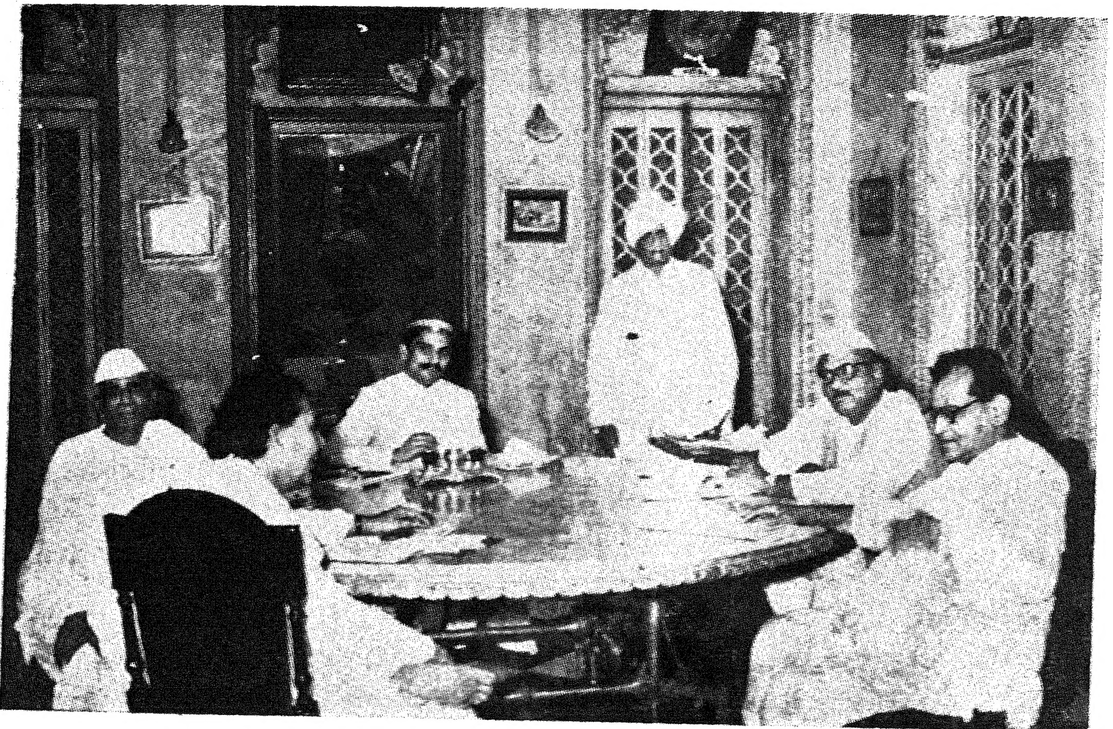
FORT RAMNAGAR, VARANASI

लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यासं च निबध्नन्ति

पुराणम्--PURAṆA

Vol. XI., No. 1] वसन्तपञ्चम्यङ्कः [January 22, 1969

लेखसूची—Contents



Dr. Sampurnanand (Sitting 2nd from the right) attending the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the All-India Kashiraj Trust in 1958.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST ON THE SAD DEMISE OF Dr. SAMPURNANAND

महान् शिक्षाविद्, गम्भीर विद्वान्, दार्शनिक विचारक, पटु राजनीतिज्ञ, एवं कुशल प्रशासक डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्दजी के निधन से राष्ट्र ने एक महापुरुष खो दिया।

डाक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्दजी की भारतीय संस्कृति और परम्परा में महती आस्था थी। काशी नगरी के विकास-विस्तार में उनका योगदान चिरस्मरणीय रहेगा। संस्कृत भाषा के विकास और भारतीय संस्कृति के संरक्षण के लिये उनके सतत प्रयत्न अविस्मरणीय हैं। काशिराज्य से उनके पूर्वज संबद्ध थे। सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास के न्यासिमण्डल के वे आरम्भ से ही उत्तरप्रदेश-सरकार द्वारा मनोनीत सदस्य थे और न्यास के कार्यों में सदैव सक्रिय सहयोग और प्रेरणा देते थे।

उनके निधन से सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास के समस्त सदस्य दुःखी हैं और उनके प्रति अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करते हैं। हम दिवंगत आत्मा के दुःखी परिवार के प्रति अपनी समवेदना प्रकट करते हैं और ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करते हैं कि वह दिवंगत आत्मा को शान्ति प्रदान करे।

हिमवत्कृता पार्वती-स्तुतिः

(कूर्मपु०, वेंकटे०, १.१२.२०८—२३९)*

हिमवानुवाच

[अद्य मे सफलं जन्म अद्य मे सफलं तपः ।
यन्मे साक्षात् त्वमव्यक्ता प्रपन्ना दृष्टिगोचरम् ॥ २०७]
त्वया सृष्टं जगत्सर्वं प्रधानाद्यं त्वयि स्थितम् ।
त्वय्येव लीयते देवि त्वमेव परमा[1] गतिः ॥ २०८
वदन्ति केचित्त्वामेव प्रकृतिं प्रकृतेः पराम्[2] ।
अपरे परमार्थज्ञाः शिवेति शिवसंश्रयात्[3] ॥ २०९
त्वयि प्रधानं पुरुषो महान् ब्रह्मा तथेश्वरः ।
अविद्या नियतिर्माया कलाद्याः शतशो[4]ऽभवन् ॥ २१०
त्वं हि सा परमा शक्तिरनन्ता परमेष्ठिनी ।
सर्वभेदविनिर्मुक्ता सर्वभेदाश्रयाश्रया[5] ॥ २११

* अत्र श्लोकसंख्या किंचित् परिवर्तिता, यथा वेंकटे. संस्करणस्य २०७ श्लोकस्योत्तरार्धं २०८ श्लोकस्य पूर्वार्धं च मिलित्वा अत्र २०७ श्लोकः, एवमग्रेऽपि ।

पाठभेदाः

[काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागे कूर्मपुराणस्याद्यावधि सप्त हस्तलेखाः (४ उत्तरभारतीया देवनागरीलिपि-हस्तलेखाः, २ वङ्गलिपि-हस्तलेखौ, १ दक्षिणभारतीयो नन्दिनागरीलिपि-हस्तलेखः) संवादिताः (collated), एतदतिरिक्तम् अस्याः स्तुत्या. पाठभेदाध्ययनार्थमन्यौ द्वौ देवनागरीलिपिहस्तलेखावपि (एक इंडियाआफिसग्रन्थागारात् प्राप्तः, अन्यश्च हारवर्डविश्वविद्यालयग्रन्थागारात् प्राप्तः) दृष्टौ । अत्र पाठभेदस्याग्रे कोष्ठे तत्तत्पाठवतां हस्तलेखानां संख्या प्रदीयते । संकेताश्च—दे. = देवनागरी ह० ले०, ब. = बंगला ह० ले०, न. = नन्दिनागरी ह० ले० ; a, b, c, d इत्येतैः श्लोकस्य क्रमशः प्रथमः, द्वितीयः, तृतीयः, चतुर्थश्च पादोऽभिप्रेतः ।]

1. च परा (२ दे., २ ब). 2. परम् (१ दे., १ ब., १ न.) 3. शिवसंश्रये (१ दे , १ ब., १ न.). 4. शक्तयो (२ दे. २ ब.). 5. सर्वभेदाश्रया निजा (४ दे., २ ब.).

त्वामधिष्ठाय योगेशि महादेवो महेश्वरः ।
प्रधानाद्यं जगत्सर्वं[6] करोति विकरोति च ॥ २१२
त्वयैव सङ्गतो देवः [7]स्वात्मानन्दं समश्नुते ।
त्वमेव परमानन्दस्त्वमेवानन्ददायिनी[8] ॥ २१३
त्वमक्षरं परं व्योम महज्ज्योतिर्निरञ्जनम्[9] ।
शिवं सर्वगतं सूक्ष्मं परं ब्रह्म सनातनम् ॥ २१४
त्वं शक्रः सर्वदेवानां ब्रह्मा [10]ब्रह्मविदामसि ।
वायुर्बलवतां देवि योगिनां त्वं कुमारकः[11] ॥ २१५
ऋषीणां च वसिष्ठस्त्वं व्यासो वेदविदामसि ।
सांख्यानां कपिलो देवो रुद्राणाञ्चापि शङ्करः ॥ २१६
आदित्यानामुपेन्द्रस्त्वं वसूनां चैव पावकः ।
वेदानां सामवेदस्त्वं गायत्री [12] छन्दसामसि ॥ २१७
अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां गतीनां परमा गतिः ।
माया त्वं सर्वशक्तीनां कालः कलयतामसि ॥ २१८
ओंकारः सर्वगुह्यानां वर्णानां च द्विजोत्तमः ।
[13]आश्रमाणां गृहस्थस्त्वमीश्वराणां महेश्वरः ॥ २१९
पुंसां त्वमेकः पुरुषः सर्वभूतहृदि स्थितः ।
सर्वोपनिषदां देवि [14]गुह्योपनिषदुच्यसे[15] ॥ २२०
ईशानश्चापि[16] कल्पानां युगानां कृतमेव च ।
आदित्यः सर्वमार्गाणां[17] वाचां देवी सरस्वती ॥ २२१
त्वं लक्ष्मीश्चारुरूपाणां विष्णुर्मायाविनामसि ।
अरुन्धती सतीनां त्वं सुपर्णः पततामसि ॥ ९२२

6. °त्कृत्स्नं (२ दे., २ ब. १ न.). 7. रामानन्दं (१ दे. २ ब.), स्वमान० (३ दे., १ न.). 8. °न्ददायिका (२ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 9. °तिर्निरन्तरम् (२ दे., १ ब.). 10. वेदविदा° (१ ब.). 11. कुशासना (२ दे.). 12. सावित्री (२ दे.). 13. आश्रमाणां च गार्हस्थ्यमी° (१ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 14. ब्रह्मोपनिषदु° (१ दे.). 15. °षदुच्यते (३ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 16. चासि (४ दे., १ ब., १ न.). 17. सर्वभर्गानां (१ ब.).

सूक्तानां पौरुषं सूक्तं [18]सामज्येष्ठं च सामसु ।
सावित्री [19]चापि जाप्यानां यजुषां शतरुद्रियम् ॥ २२३
पर्वतानां महामेरुरनन्तो भोगिनामपि ।
सर्वेषां त्वं परं ब्रह्म त्वन्मयं सर्वमेव हि ॥ २२४

रूपं तवाशेषविकारहीन-[20]
मगोचरं निर्मलमेकरूपम् ।
अनादिमध्यान्तमनन्तमाद्यं
नमामि सत्यं तमसः परस्तात् ॥ २२५

यदेव पश्यन्ति जगत्प्रसूतिं
वेदान्तविज्ञानविनिश्चितार्थाः[21] ।
आनन्दमात्रं प्रणवाभिधानं
तदेव रूपं शरणं प्रपद्ये[22] ॥ २२६

अशेषभूतान्तरसंनिविष्टं[23]
[24]प्रधानपुंयोगवियोगहेतुम् ।
तेजोमयं [25]जन्मविनाशहीनं
प्राणाभिधानं प्रणतोऽस्मि रूपम् ॥ २२७

आद्यन्तहीनं जगदात्मरूपम्[26]
विभिन्नसंस्थं प्रकृतेः परस्तात् ।
कूटस्थमव्यक्तवपुस्तथैव[27]
नमामि रूपं पुरुषाभिधानम् ॥ २२८

[28]सर्वाश्रयं सर्वजगद्विधानं
सर्वत्रगं जन्मविनाशहीनम् ।

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18. ज्येष्ठसाम (५ दे., १ ब. १ न.). 19. चासि जप्यानां (३ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 20. °षकलाविहीन° (४ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 21. °न-विनिश्चितात्मा [:] (२ दे., १ ब.). 22. नतोऽस्मि (२ दे.), गतोऽस्मि (१ ब.). 23. °र-संनिधिस्थं (१ दे.). 24. प्रधानसंयोग° (२ दे., १ ब.). 25. ब्रह्मवि° (१ ब., १ न.). जन्मविधानहेतुं (१ दे.). 26. °त्मभूतम् (३ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 27. °स्तवैव (२ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 28. अयं पादो नास्ति (२ दे., १ ब.).

सूक्ष्मं विचित्रं [29]त्रिगुणं प्रधानं
नतोऽस्मि ते रूपमरूपभेदम्[30] ॥ २२९

आद्यं [31]महान्तं पुरुषाभिधानं
प्रकृत्यवस्थं त्रिगुणात्मबीजम् ।
ऐश्वर्यविज्ञानविरोधधर्म्मैः[32]
समन्वितं देवि नतोऽस्मि रूपम् ॥ २३०

द्विसप्तलोकात्मकमम्बुसंस्थं
विचित्रभेदं पुरुषैकनाथम् ।
[33]अनेकभेदैरधिवासितं ते
नतोऽस्मि रूपं जगदण्डसंज्ञम् ॥ २३१

अशेषवेदात्मकमेकमाद्यं
[34]स्वत्तेजसा पूरितलोकभेद्रम् ।
त्रिकालहेतुं[35] परमेष्ठिसंज्ञं
नमामि रूपं रविमण्डलस्थम् ॥ २३२

सहस्रमूर्धानमनन्तशक्तिं
सहस्रबाहुं पुरुषं पुराणम् ।
शयानमन्तःसलिले तवैव[36]
नारायणाख्यं प्रणतोऽस्मि रूपम् ॥ २३३

दंष्ट्राकरालं त्रिदशाभिवन्द्यं
युगान्तकालानलकर्तृरूपम्[37] ।

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29. त्रिगुणाभिधानं......°मगुप्रभेदम् (१ दे.). 30. °मलुप्तभेदं (२ बे., २ ब., १ न—°सभद्रम्). 31. महत्त्वे पुरुपानुरूपं (२ दे.), महत्त्वे पुरुषात्मरूपं (१ ब.), महत्ते पुरुषात्मरूपं (१ दे.), महत्ते पुरुषात्मरूढं (१ न.), महान्तं पुरुषात्मरूपं (१ दे.), महान्तं पुरुषार्थरूपं (१ ब.). 32. °न-विरागधर्मैः, (३ दे., २ ब, १ न.). 33. अनन्तभूतैर° (३ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 34 स्वतेजसा (३ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 35. °लभूतं (१ दे.). 36. तथैव (३ दे., १ ब.), तदेव (१ दे.). 37. °ल-कल्परूपम् (२ दे., १ ब., १ न.), °ल-चक्ररूपम् (१ ब.).

अशेषभूताण्डविनाशहेतुं
नमामि रूपं तव कालसंज्ञम् ॥ २३४

फणासहस्रेण विराजमानं
भोगीन्द्रमुख्यैरपि पूज्यमानम्[38] ।
[39]जनार्दनारूढतनुं प्रसुप्तं
नतोऽस्मि रूपं तव शेषसंज्ञम् ॥ २३५

अव्याहतैश्वर्यमयुग्मनेत्रं
ब्रह्मामृतानन्दरसज्ञमेकम् ।
[40]युगान्तशेषं दिवि नृत्यमानं
नतोऽस्मि रूपं तव रुद्रसंज्ञम् ॥ २३६

प्रहीणशोकं [41]प्रविहीनरूपं
सुरासुरैरर्चितपादपद्मम्[42] ।
सुकोमलं देवि विभासि[43] शुभ्रं
नमामि ते रूपमिदं भवानि[44] ॥ २३७

नमस्तेऽस्तु महादेवि नमस्ते परमेश्वरि ।
नमो भगवतीशानि शिवायै[45] ते नमो नमः ॥ २३८

त्वन्मयोऽहं त्वदाधारस्त्वमेव च[46] गतिर्मम ।
[47]त्वामेव शरणं यास्ये प्रसीद परमेश्वरि ॥ २३९

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38. °रभिपूज्यमा° (२ दे., २ ब.). 39. जनार्दनारूढमिदं प्रशस्तं (१ दे.). 40. युगान्तशेपे (१ दे.). 41. विमलं पवित्रं (४ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 42. °त-पादयुग्म् (३ दे., २ ब., १ न.). 43. विलासि शु° (१ दे, १ ब.), विशालशु° (२ दे., १ ब.). 44. नमामि (३ दे., २ ब. १ न.), °मिदं परं तत् (१ दे.). 45. भवायै (१ न.). 46. सुगतिर्मम (१ दे., १ ब,), जगतिर्मम (१ दे.). 47. त्वमेव (३ दे., १ ब.).

NOTE ON THE PĀRVATĪ STUTI

[*Context*: Brahmā, while practising austerities, produced from his face (or forehead) God Rudra who was born as half male and half female (अर्धनारीनरवपुः, I. 11.3). Brahmā then asked him to divide himself, and so Rudra divided himself into two forms, Male and Female. The Male form was further divided into eleven gods called the eleven Rudras, and the Female form was divided into various forms called the Śakti-s. Śāṁkarī, the original Śakti of Śaṁkara or Rudra, was born as Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa Prajāpati, who gave her to Śaṁkara as his wife. Śāṁkarī or Satī was again born as the daughter of Himavān and Menā, and was known as Pārvatī (the daughter of the Parvata or the Mountain-god Himavān). Pārvatī was thus the manifestation of the Original Śakti of Śaṁkara to whom she was finally united as his अर्धशरीरिणी (i. e. sharing half of his body); hence she is also called as Māheśvarī, Śivā, Satī and Haimavatī. —सैषा माहेश्वरी देवी शङ्करार्धशरीरिणी । शिवा सती हैमवती सुरासुरनमस्कृता ॥ (I. 11.13).

Pārvatī at the time of her birth had four faces, three eyes, eight arms, braided and knotted hair (कपर्दिनी), and was adorned with a portion of the moon (I. 12.43 ff.). At Himavāns request Pārvatī showed him her supreme divine form (ऐश्वरं दिव्यं रूपं) pervading the whole universe (सर्वमावृत्य तिष्ठन्ती, Śl. 59). The account here is on the model of the Bhagavad-Gītā, Adh. 11. On seeing such a form of Pārvatī Himavān was struck with awe and praised her with her one thousand and eight names (I. 12.62-199); there he trembling with fear requested her to show him her gentle and mild form. The Goddess then showed him her pleasant form with two eyes, two arms and black locks of hair, and also with a Tilaka on her forehead and ornaments all over her body. Himavān, then out of joy, praised her with the Stuti as given in the above ślokas.]

Goddess Pārvatī is praised here both in her immanent as well as in her transcendent form. She creates the universe; Pradhāna (Prakṛiti or the Primordial Matter) exists in her, and the universe is again absorbed in her.—(208). She is the higher

Prakṛti, higher than the Pradhāna, and she is also called Śivā because of her relation with Śiva.–(209). In her exist the Pradhāna, the Puruṣa (Spirit.), the Mahān (or Buddhi Principle) and also the Īśvara or Śiva. In her exist the Avidyā (Ne-science), Niyati (Destiny), Māyā (the great creative divine power) and the Kalā (Arts & Sciences) –(210). She is the highest Śakti (Energy) which is infinite and remains in the highest abode. She is free from all distinctions, and still she is the substratum of all the distinctions and appearances.–(211). The great God Īśvara (Śiva) depends on her in creating and destroying the universe (Pradhāna etc).–(212). United with her the God Śiva enjoys his inner bliss. She is the bliss, and bliss bestower.–(2.13). She is the imperishable (अक्षर) and the highest heaven (परं व्योम), she is the stainless great Light, she is Śiva and she is also the all-pervading, eternal and the absolute Brahman.–(214). Thus, she in her immanent form, creates and pervades the material universe (तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्रविशत्-*upaniṣad*), but in her transcendent form she is beyond the universe, the pure and absolute Reality.

From śl. 215 to śl. 224 Dakṣa describes the various *Vibhūti-s* (magnificences) of the Goddess as a part of her Stuti. This description is mainly on the model of the 10th Adh. (called the Vibhūti-yoga Adh) of the Bhagavad-Gītā where Lord Kṛṣṇa relates his vibhūti-s to Arjuna. This Pārvatī-Stuti of the Kūrma-Purāṇa contains not only the similar ideas, but also the similar expressions as contained in the Vibhūti-yoga Adh. of the Gītā.

For example :—

Kūrma-P. (I. 12)	Bhagavad-Gītā (Adh. 10)
त्वं शक्रः सर्वदेवानां (215a)	देवानामस्मि वासवः (22b)
योगिनां त्वं कुमारकः (215d)	सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः (24c)
व्यासो वेदविदामसि (216b)	मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः (37c)
सांख्यानां कपिलो देवः 216c)	सिद्धाना कपिलो मुनिः (26d)
रुद्राणां चापि शङ्करः (216d)	रुद्राणा शङ्करश्चास्मि (23a)
आदित्यानामुपेन्द्रस्त्वं (217a)	आदित्यानामहं विष्णुः (21a)
वसूनां चैव पावकः (217b)	वसूनां पावकश्चास्मि (23c)

वेदानां सामवेदस्त्वं (217c)	वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मि (22a)
गायत्री छन्दसामसि (217d)	गायत्री छन्दसामहं (35b)
अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां (218a)	अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां (32c)
कालः कलयतामसि (218d)	कालः कलयतामहं (30b)
ॐकारः सर्वगुह्यानां (219a)	गिरामस्म्येकमक्षरं (25b)
पुंसां त्वमेकः पुरुषः सर्वभूतहृदि स्थितः (220ab)	अहमात्मा गुडाकेश सर्वभूताशयस्थित (20ab)
सुपर्णः पततामसि (222 a)	वैनतेयश्च पक्षिणाम् (30 a)
सामज्येष्ठं च सामसु (223 b)	बृहत्साम तथा साम्नां (35 a)
पर्वतानां महामेरुः (224 a)	मेरुः शिखरिणामहं (23 a)
अनन्तो भोगिनामपि (224 a)	अनन्तश्चास्मि नागाना (29 a)
त्वन्मयं सर्वमेव हि (224 a)	न तदस्ति विना यत्स्यान्मया भूतं चराचरम् (39 c a)

From śl. 225 to śl. 237 *Satya* (Truth), *Praṇava* (Oṁkāra), *Prāṇa* (Life-force), *Puruṣa* (Spirit) *Pradhāna* (Primordial Matter), *Jagad-aṇḍa* (Mundane Egg, the universe), *Parameṣṭhin* (the supreme deity) residing in the sun, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Kāla* (Time or Death), *Śeṣa* (thousand-headed serpent forming the couch of Viṣṇu), *Rudra* (Śiva in his terrible form who performs his tāṇḍava dance at the commencement of the Dissoluton of the universe) and the mild and pleasant form which Pārvatī showed to Dakṣa are all conceived as the forms of Goddess Pārvatī.

In śls. 225 ff. the cosmic aspect of the Goddess is clearly brought out. The *Satya* (Truth) which is pure, changeless, beginning-less and eternal and which is beyond the darkness, the *Praṇava* (the syllable Om) which the learned see as the cause of the universe and which is the pure bliss, the *Prāṇa* (Life-force) which has entered all the beings, which causes the union and the separation of the Pradhāna and the Puruṣa, which is lustrous and which is without birth and death, the *Puruṣa* (Spirit) which has no beginning and end, which is the soul of the universe, which is beyond the Prakṛti, and which is changeless and unmanifest, the *Pradhāna* (Prakṛti) which is the substratum of all, which builds the whole universe, which is all-pervading, unborn and imperishable, subtle, varied, having the three Guṇa-s (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas) as its constituents and containing in its form all the forms in their unmani-

fest state, the *Mahān Puruṣa* (or the Mahat, the Buddhi Principle) which is nearest to the Prakṛti, being its first product, and which is the seed of the three Guṇas, the *Jagad-aṇḍa* (Mundane Egg out of which the universe was evolved) which contained the fourteen worlds (Seven below and seven above), which rested in the Primeval waters, which inheres in itself curious differences, and which is associated with the Puruṣa, *Parme-ṣṭhin* (the supreme being) residing in the sun, which is identified with the Veda, and which is the cause of the three divisions of Time, *Nārāyaṇa* who has thousand heads and thousand arms, and who is the ancient Puruṣa or Spirit and who sleeps in the Primordial Waters, the *Kāla* (Death) who has terrible Jaws, who is worshipped by the gods, who produces the fire of destruction at the end of the creation and who causes the destruction of all the beings, *Śeṣa* the great Serpent with his thousand hoods, being worshipped by the chiefs of the serpents, and forming the couch of Viṣṇu, *Rudra* (the terrible form of God Śiva) who has three eyes, whose power and majesty is unhindered, who enjoys the highest and immortal bliss and who performs his tāṇḍava dance at the commencement of the dissolution of the universe, and the *gentle and pleasing form* which Pārvatī showed to Dakṣa, are all conceived here as the forms of Pārvatī. Dakṣa even conceives himself as a part of Goddess Pārvatī (त्वन्मयोऽहं) whom he thinks as his best refuge (त्वमेव च गतिर्मम) and completely surrenders himself to her grace (त्वमेव शरणं यास्ये प्रसीद परमेश्वरि).

—ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

METRES OF CLASSICAL POETRY IN THE PURĀṆAS*

By

ADAM HOHENBERGER

[अस्मिन् लेखे विद्वान् लेखकः महापुराणेषु प्रयुक्तानां लौकिकछन्दसां पूर्णं विचरणं स्थलनिर्देशसंख्यासहितं लैटिनवर्णानुक्रमेण प्रस्तौति। संकलनात् प्राक् सोदाहरणं साधयति यत् पुराणगतच्छन्दासि यथा काव्याना परिपाटीमनुसरन्ति न तथा वैदिकीम्—यद्यपि त्रिष्टुब्, जगती वा प्राप्यते एव पुराणेषु। सम्यक् परीक्षणेनेदं निश्चीयते यत् प्रयुक्तच्छन्दसां संख्याविषये अनेकप्रसिद्धकाव्यग्रन्थापेक्षया पुराणसाहित्यं कथमपि न्यूनं नास्ति अपितु भागवत-मत्स्य-पद्मपुराणानि तु शाकुन्तल-रत्नावली-मालविकाग्निमित्रादिकमपि अतिशेरते। अत्रास्मिन् प्रमाणबहुले लेखे विदुषा लेखकेन नानोदाहरणं. स्वविचारस्य पुष्टीकरणं कृतम्। तथा छन्दःसाहाय्येन श्लोकान्वेषणमपि प्रदर्शितम्।]

At the first glance it might appear that the Purāṇas are composed throughout in the epic Śloka metre and cotain very rarely a vedic Triṣṭubh or a Jagatī. The Agnipurāṇa, above all, creates such an impression according to a statement at the end of this work, it contains 11457 verses (āditaḥ ślokānāṁ samaṣṭyaṅkāḥ 11457). There we find, apart from short prose-pieces, also a few solitary verses with 11 or 12 syllables. These verses are not based on the number of simple syllables as the vedic metres are, but here the order and quantity of each syllable is fixed according to certain rules as in the works of classical poetry. Indravajrā (115, 40), Upendravajrā (192, 10, 196, 16), Upajāti (196, 15, 255, 35) and Vaṁśasthā (270, 14, 15) are represented here. In a single verse the four metres Upendravajrā, Indravajrā, Vātormī and Śālinī occur one after the other :

Agastya evaṁ khananād dharitrīm
Pūjām apatyaṁ balam īhamānaḥ/
ubhau varṇāv ṛṣir ugraḥ pupoṣa
satyā deveṣv āśiṣo vai jagāma// 206, 13.

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Similarly, in the first part of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa classical metres make a rare exception. There are only three such verses among 432 ślokas. With regard to the number of syllables they correspond to a vedic Triṣṭubh. But a closer examination shows that they also are composed according to the rules of classical poetry. Of them one proves to be Upajāti (I, 1, 174) while the other two have a stamp of Śālinī on them (1, 5, 107, 108). In the third Pāda of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, as against in the first, we find other metres also more frequently. The chapters 41, 50 offer eight different metres, viz., 1 each of Vasantatilakā and Mandākrāntā, 2 each of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā, 4 Upajātis, 5 Mālinīs, 9 Śārdūlavikrīḍitas and 10 Sragdharās. The variety is still greater in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa VII, 8, where Upajāti, Śālinī, Vaṁśasthā, Vasantatilakā, Kanakaprabhā, Bhujaṅga-Prayātā, Praharṣiṇī, Śālinī and Mandākrāntā occur in a colourful series.

A closer examination of the different works leads us to the astonishing conclusion that, with regard to the number of metres employed, the Purāṇas do not lag behind the many famous classical poems. Harṣadeva employs in the Ratnāvalī 14 more or less classical metres apart from the Śloka, whereas Kālidāsa uses 20 in the Mālavikāgnimitra and 21 in the Śakuntalā. These figures are surpassed in the Bhāgavata-, Matsya-, and Padmapurāṇas. Although the considerably greater volume of these works has to be taken into account, still we can not overlook the fact that the authors endeavoured to vie with the classical poets. In works this is already evident from the fact that they begin with a classical metre. The first or the second verse (as the case may be) in the Matsya-, Varāha-, and in the Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa are composed in the metre Sragdharā following the example of Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa and the Brahmapurāṇa exhibit the metre Śārdūla-vikrīḍita in the first two verses. In this regard all the Purāṇas are surpassed by the Harivaṁśa. In a short introduction, which precedes the main work, each single verse is composed in a different metre with only one exception. There we find Śloka, Vasantatilakā, Āryā, Vasantatilakā, Upendravajrā, Indravajrā, Gīti and Upajāti in this

order. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa contains six different metres in the first eight verses.

This state of affairs is interesting from more than one point of view. It shows that the authors of the Purāṇas were we acquainted with the rules of classical poetry. Although the ability of the individual poet might have varied from one to the other, yet from the variety of the metres employed clues may be obtained about the time of the composition. It is striking that the works of earlier time like the Vāyu- and the Viṣṇupurāṇa contain only nine or ten metres whereas their number in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, which is generally considered to be younger, rises upto 31. The Agnipurāṇa is an exception here. The fact that only very few metres are employed in it cannot be considered as an evidences of its high antiquity because individual episodes, like the narration of the great flood, give the impression of a later composition. The question might remain undecided whether the authors of this work were less acquainted with classical poetry or they did not attach much importance to the presentation of the entire material in classical metres.

A register of all metres and the places of their occurrence in tne great Purāṇas has, above all, a practical significance. I came upon the idea of such a compilation as I was attempting to verify all the quotations in Rāmānuja's Vedāntadīpa. Particularly a passage in Śālinī metre could not be located for a long time. Rāmānuja quotes only the first line in his shorter interpretation of the Brahmasūtras (1, 2, 26). The full text is found in the corresponding place of his great Commentary, in the śrībhāṣya, where it runs as follows :

"smaranti ca munayaḥ/ :—
dyāṁ mūrdhānaṁ yasya viprā vadanti
khaṁ vai nābhiṁ candrasūryau ca netre/
diśaḥ śrotre viddhi pādau kṣitiṁ ca
so 'cintyātmā sarvabhūtapraṇetā // iti.

It is followed by a passage, similar in content, from the Mahābhārata 12, 47, 68 which has parallel in the Matsyapurāṇa

(246, 53). Also Matsyapurāṇa 154, 9, 10 and its parallel Padmapurāṇa V, 40, 12 correspond to the above quotation from the point of view of their content as well as the metre Śālinī. But Rāmānuja could hardly have had this passage in view, because the last line of the quotation is missing here. Moreover the context is about a eulogy which the gods offer, not to Viṣṇu, but to Brahmā. Only after a long search, the full quotation was found in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 1, 5, 107, and further, almost in similar wording, also in the Vāyupurāṇa 9, 120 and in the śivapurāṇa VII, 1, 12, 76. But it is remarkable how less accurately the text is transmitted in the first two places. Of the obvious scribal errors only two may be mentioned : in the Vāyupurāṇa the Nominative *dyaur* next to the Accusative *mūrdhānam* and in the Brāhmāṇḍapurāṇa the complete omission of *dyaur* and its subsequent replacement by vai. Rāmānuja has preserved-not only in this case-the wording more faithfully than the original texts. An example from the vedic literature is Atharvavedasaṁhitā 8, 9, 10 of the Paippalāda-school. In the Tübingen Manuscript and in the editions based on it the passage is transmitted full of mistakes and would have remained unintelligible, had not Rāmānuja recorded the wording correctly in his interpretation of Brahmasūtra II, 3, 42.

The present work is divided into a table of the employed metres and a register of the places of their occurrence. In the table the consulted works are given in the Latin alphabetical order from top to bottom on the left hand side. It contains all the great Purāṇas whose number is given in the lists, mostly as 18, but which actually amounts to 19. In the Padmapurāṇa (IV, 111, 90-94) the Vāyu is omitted and in the Matsyapurāṇa (53, 11-59) the Śivapurāṇa is omitted. The Kūrma-Purāṇa (1, 1, 13-15) maintains the number 18, but mentions the Vāyupurāṇa as the 18th and the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa as the 19th. We may spare ourselves the justification of the number 18 through the argument that either the Śivapurāṇa or the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa is regarded as "a Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu", because the editions of the texts of three works, and thus of all the 19 great Purāṇas, are

available to us. A Nāradīyapurāṇa is mentioned in the lists of the Mahāpurāṇas as well as of the Upapurāṇas. The Bṛhannāradīyapurāṇa, which has been counsulted, should belong to the former group, because it enjoyed such a high respect that Rāmānuja quotes the verse 36, 17 in his Bhagavadgītābhāṣya (13, 4). Another quotation in his two interpretations of Brahmasūtra IV, 1, 13 is found in the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa (4, 130, 9) as well as in the Bṛihan-nāradīyapurāṇa (9, 79). Of the Skandapurāṇa, which according to Matsyapurāṇa 53, 43 should contain altogether 81100 verses,only an edition of the Sahyādri khaṇḍa apart from a few Māhātmyas was available. The Harivaṁśa, about which M. Winternitz commented long ago that this work is "in reality a Purāṇa", indeed "absolutely and entirely a Purāṇa" (History of Indian Literature, Vol. I. pp. 443, 454) has also been consulted and the information about it has been given at the end.

The metre employed in the consulted works are given in the table from left to right at the top in the same order as was maintained by Albrecht Weber in his two monographs of Indian Prosody (Abhandlungen uber die Metrik der Inder) in the eighth volume of the Indische Studien, Berlin 1863. About the names of the metres, it is explained there that not a few are based on epithets for women, some give at the same time a hint as to the way the corresponding metre is constructed, others imitate the voices or habits of animals and some are derived from flora or borrowed from the names of gods and demons (pp. 170-178). In the Purāṇas are to be found, among the Gaṇachandas with a specific number of feet, each consisting of four morae, the varieties of the Āryā (1-5); some Mātrāchandas with a specific number of morae, although not bound by any definite order of feet (6-10), in a greater number the akṣarachandas in which the number of syllables and the quantity as well as the order of each individual syllable (11-46)/ is fixed. From the latter variety, which are similar in the fact that the four lines of a verse are constructed in the same way, three groups can be formed; metres with 11 syllables (varieties of Triṣṭubh 11-20). metres with 12 syllables (varieties of the Jagatī 21-30) and metres with more than 12 syllables (31-46).

A reference may be made of some of the metres which were not described in detail in the above-mentioned monographs. In the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa there are eight lines with 10 syllables each and two lines with 11 syllables each, all of which begin with the expression tvadbhītā. This metre is not given in the 13 varieties of the Paṅkti (op. cit., pp. 369-371). In its construction it resembles the Śālinī with the following exception, viz., that at the beginning of each line there are three long syllables before caesura in stead of four tvadbhītā anudravanti janās, tvadbhītā brahmacaryaṁ caranti......

In the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (III, 3, 20, 8) there is variety of the Triṣṭubh which resembles the metre Sumukhī in the first and in the fourth pāda, but contains in the second and in the third pāda Amphimacer in stead of Amphibrachys.

> Jayati te vapur divyavigrahaṁ
> nayati sarvadā devatāgaṇān /
> pibati mātriyaṁ dugdham uttamaṁ
> vadhati sarvadā daityadānavān //

A rather irregularly constructed variety of the Jagatī corresponds, to a great extent, to the metre Lalitā except in the first pāda (Bhaviṣyapurāṇa IV, 134, 46).

A verse from the Garuḍapurāṇa (110, 14) resembles in the second and in the fourth line the metre Drutavilambita, according to which also the second and the fourth lines of the metre Hariṇaplutā are constructed (op. cit., p. 360). The first and the third lines end like the Vaitālīya, but contain at the beginning a long syllable in stead of a short one, in other words, each line has one mora more :

> Karṇabhūṣaṇasaṁgrahocito
> yadi maṇis tu pade pratibadhyate /
> kiṁ maṇir nahi śobhate tataḥ
> bhavati yojayitur vacanīyatā //

The Padmapurāṇa (V, 43, 92) contains a verse, whose 14 syllables, with the exception of the penultimate one, are all short: bhavabhayahara hara parama udāra mama sukhakaraṇa nikhila-

surasāra......comparable are the metres Gaurī with two long syllables after 14 short ones. (op. cit., pp. 385, 390).

A verse in the Śivapurāṇa is a Mātrāsamaka (op. cit., pp. 314-319), but contains 19 in stead of 16 morae. Moreover the last words of each two lines rhyme with one another :

> vaiiibhayaṁkara śaṁkara janaśaraṇasya
> vande tava padapadmaṁ sukhakaraṇasya /
> vijñaptiṁ mama kaiṇe skanda nidhehi
> nijabhaktiṁ janacetasi sadā vidhehi //

As examples for the employment of refrain, which A. Weber has traced to the vedic literature (op. cit., pp. 69-71) three cases may be cited. Three in a series of verses, the last syllable has the same sound, and that is in the metres Indravajrā: tvām āhur agryaṁ puruṣaṁ purāṇaṁ (Matsyap. 163, 99-103); Vasantatilakā: saṁcintayed bhagavataḥ caraṇāravindam (Brahmavaivartap. 1, 30, 1-6) ; Vibudhapriyā: Candraśekharam āśraye mama kiṁ kariṣyati vai Yamaḥ (Padmap. VI, 236, 75-82).

The Gāthās, which are constructed irregularly, are omitted in the table and in the register (see Matsyap. 159, 40-43. of Padmap. V., 41, 181-184).

It is not always possible to delimit the individual verses exactly. Occasionally two lines are constructed as Upajāti and the other two as Vaṁśasthā or three lines belong to one metre and only the fourth line to another metre. There are isolated cases of combination between Indravajrā and Śālinī or Vaṁśasthā and Vasantatilakā. In such special cases each half verse is noted down separately. Otherwise the whole verse is given under one metre or the other, because the enumeration of all the irregularities would have impaired the general view. In Indian Prosody such mixed constructions are considered as varieties of the Upajāti. While commenting upon the plural Upajātayaḥ, which occur in a sūtra of Pingala, A. Weber says that 14 different varieties of the Upajāti can be constructed from the two metres Indravajrā and Upendravajrā alone through various combinations of the individual lines. Moreover, he refers to the view

of the commentator Halāyudha and others. According to which it is possible to construct sub-varieties or varieties of the Upajāti from Vaṁśastha and Indravaṁśa, and Śālinī and Vātormī, as well other metres which differ slightly from each other (op. cit., pp. 372, 373). A number of examples of such mixed varieties are to be found above all, in the Harivaṁśa II, 22, 28-60; in the Matsyapurāṇa 25-42 ; and in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa X, 63. 36 ; 64, 13, XI, 14, 24 ; 22, 30.

A register of all the metres of classical poetry, employed in the Purāṇas, makes it easier to trace the quotations to a great extent. In order to find out where a certain verse occurs and whether it is to be found at other places also, it is sufficient to refer to the places of occurrence of the corresponding metre in each work. The following two examples may illustrate this point. (III, 7, 14)/ (a) According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa/, Yama says t he following to his servant in the metre Puṣpitāgrā :

Parihara Madhusūdanaprapannān
Prabhur aham asmi nṛṇāṁ na Vaiṣṇavānām //

The Vāmanapurāṇa (94, 31) substitutes prasannān for prapannān and anyanṛṇāṁ for asmi nṛṇām. The Garuḍapurāṇa (219, 16) has-prapannān as in the Viṣṇupurāṇa and anyanṛṇāṁ as in the Vāmanapurāṇa, but na is intensified through the addition of kadāpi without any regard to the length of the verse. Finally the Padmapurāṇa (VI, 194, 102) changes Madhusūdana-prapannān or the prasannān into Bhagavatkathāsu Mattān. The order of the changes mentioned here might reflect, at the same time, the chronological order of the four works.

(b) The Bhāgavatapnrāṇa has, after the end of the 12 books, a Bhāgavatamāhātmya in six chapters. The colophons begin with the words : iti śrīpadmapurāṇe uttarakhaṇḍe. The search after these six chapters in the voluminous Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa would be quite a time-consuming job, in so far as there is no table of contents. On the other hand a comparison of the metres, which are found in it, leads us to our goal faster. The corresponding metres are as follows :

Metre	Māhātmya	Uttarakhaṇḍa
Vasantatilakā	1,1	189,4
Mālinī	3,73	191,74
Puṣpitāgrā	7,99	194,102
Śikhariṇī	6,100	194,103
Praharṣiṇī	6,103	194,106

The rest of the metres also, which occur in the Māhātmya, are to be found in these chapters, reduced in the above way. A comparison with the edition of the text shows an almost complet agreement between the Māhātmya and Padmapurāṇa VI, 189, 4-194, 106. Only a few additional verses, which are to be found in some manuscripts, are also taken in the edition of the Padmapurāṇa. It is evident from various passages that the Bhāgavata purāṇa in its present form was known to the authors of the Padmapurāṇa VI. It is expressly stated in the Padmapurāṇa VI that the Bhāgavatapurāṇa consists of 18000 verses and 12 books (grantho 'ṣṭādaśasāhasro dvādaśaskandhasaṃyutaḥ 191, 28. of 193, 52, 194, 105).

The table and the register of metres are presented in the following pages with the hope that these might help many a researcher in saving time and energy.

The following editions are used and quoted :

Agnipurāṇa	Poona	1900
Bhāgavatapurāṇa	Bombay	1800
Bhāviṣyapurāṇa	Bombay	1952
I Brāhma-, II Madhyama-, III Pratisarga-, IV Uttaraparva		
Brahmapurāṇa	Poona	1895
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa	Bombay	1935
Bṛhan-Nāradīyapurāṇa	Calcutta	1891
Garuḍapurāṇa	Calcutta	1890
Kūrmapurāṇa	Calcutta	1800
Liṅgapurāṇa	Bombay	1924
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa	Calcutta	1862
Matsyapurāṇa	Poona	1907
Padmapurāṇa	Poona	1893, 1894

I Ādi-, II Bhūmi-, III Svarga-, IV Pātāla-, V Sṛṣti-, VI Uttarakhaṇḍa

Śivapurāṇa Bombay 1933

I Vidyeśvarasaṁhitā,

II Rudrasaṁhitā 1 Sṛṣti-, 2 Satī-, 3 Pārvatī-, 4 Kumār-, 5 Yuddhakhaṇḍa

III Śatarudrasaṁhitā

IV Koṭirudrasaṁhitā

V Umāsaṁhitā,

VI Kailāsasaṁhitā,

VII Vāyavīsaṁhitā 1 Pūrva-, Uttarkhaṇḍa

Skandapurāṇa Sahyādrikhaṇḍa Bombay 1877

I Pūrvārdha, II Uttarārdha, III Reṇukā, IV Candracūḍa-, V Nāgāhvaya-, VI Varuṇapura-, VII Kāmākṣī-, VIII Māṅgīśamāhātmya

Vāmanpurāṇa Bombay 1929

Varāhapurāṇa Calcutta 1887-1893

Vāyupurāṇa Poona 1905

Viṣṇupurāṇa Calcutta 1882

Harivaṁśa Bombay 1891

A Table of the metres employed in the Purāṇas

(The numbers below show how many verses in particular metre are to be found in the individual works.)

Nr.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Āryā	Gīti	Upagīti	Udgīti	Āryāgīti	Vaitālīya	Aupacchand-asika	Aparāntikā	Aparavaktra	Puṣpitāgrā
Agnipurāṇa										
Bhāgavata	3	8		2	1	2		18		28
Bhaviṣya	21	6			2	2	3			14
Brahma									2	3
Bṛhmāṇḍa		2								5
Bṛhmavaivarta										
Bṛhan-Nāradīya										
Garuḍa	25	3	1	4			9			2
Kūrma							1			1
Liṅga						2				5
Mārkaṇḍeya										4
Matsya	9	2		1		1	7		8	34
Padma I							1			
II	2									
III										
IV					2	8				5
V	1						5			11
VI	5	8	1			1			1	9
Śiva										3
Skanda	1									2
Vāmana		1	1							2
Varāha							1			1
Vāyu	1									
Viṣṇupurāṇa										25
Harivaṁśa	1	1							4	18

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Indravajrā	Upendravajrā	Upajāti	Dodhaka	Śālinī	Vātormī	Bhramara Vilasita	Rathoddhatā	Svāgatā	Sumukhī	Vaṃśasthā	Indravaṃśā	Drutavilambita	Toṭaka
1	2	3								2			
86	43	721		20	6			6		974	63	1	
46	23	204		17			4			11		2	2
72	31	343	1	35	1		2			18		1	
30	19	113		8						31	4		
	1	17								20			
8	15	51								2			
27	9	113		4			1	1		16	1		
11	19	80		11	14		1			4			
11	21	67		13			6			14		5	
17	4	50		5	1		1		5	8	1		
50	26	404	11	10	21	1	4			50	1	12	14
4	1	17					7			2	13		5
50	1	115								13	7		5
		2										1	
9	3	86		11			14			34	11	4	
38	25	173		16						36	1	9	6
21	1	104		7			21			60	32	2	1
44	25	298		25	1					94	1	7	
27	18	121		5			2			15		1	11
72	24	452		11						83	3		
28	35	201		16	5					68			
22	10	52		15	2					32			
15	7	109								8			
33	29	266		16	4					54			

Nr.	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
	Bhujaṁga-prayāta	Sragviṇī	Pramitākṣarā	Drutapada	Lalitapada	Vaiśvadevī	Praharṣiṇī	Rucirā	Mattamayūra	Mañju-bhāṣiṇī
Agnipurāṇa										
Bhāgavata	2	4		18			8	14	1	1
Bhaviṣya	9						3	3		
Brahma							3	1		
Brahmāṇḍa										4
Brahmavaivarta										
Bṛhan-Nāradīya										
Garuḍa							1			
Kūrma	5						3			
Liṅga	3						6			3
Mārkaṇḍeya							6	3		
Matsya	9	22	1				4	38		
Padma I										
II	3									
III										
IV							2	1		
V		21					2	4		
VI	4						3			
Śiva	1									
Skanda			2				2			
Vāmana					2			2		
Varāha							1	3		
Vāyu							1	5		
Viṣṇupurāṇa							3			
Harivaṁśa						2	2	9		

35 Kanaka-prabhā	36 Vasanta-tilakā	37 Mālinī	38 Pañcacāmara	39 Śikhariṇī	40 Pṛthvī	41 Hariṇī	42 Mandākrāntā	43 Narkuṭaka	44 Vibudha-priyā	45 Śārdulavi-krīḍita	46 Sragdharā
2	652	21		2			12	28		14	2
	214	16		1	3		3			7	5
	9	2					1			7	
	55	5					1			9	10
	7	5									2
	12										
	36	6		1						7	5
		1									
	7	4					2			1	4
	28	4									
	52	13	9		1						3
	1	3		1							
	15	1	4							8	
				1			1			2	1
	50	7	4	1	7		1			11	
	51	6	2							2	2
	49	16		1	4		2		8	25	12
	39	7		30	1	1	1			13	5
	31	4								3	3
	21	2		1	1					3	9
	3	1									1
	2										
	10	1								1	
	5	2									

B. REGISTER OF THE PLACES OF OCCURENCE

1. *Āryā* :

2 Lines with 8 feet each. Each foot consists of 4 short or 2 long or 2 short and 1 long syllables in various combinations.
Exceptions :

(a) The eighth foot in each line consists of only one long syllable.

(b) The sixth foot of the second line consists of only one short syllable.

1. ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡, ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡
– – – – – –, – – – – ◡–◡
◡–◡ ◡–◡

2. Simimilerly the second line, but in the sixth foot only.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa
VI, 16, 39. 45. 46.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
I, E, 2 ; **4**, 128 ; **73**, 48.
IV, 61, 11-16. 18. 20-22 ; **68**, 25 ; **137**, 16-19 ;
140, 21. 72 ; **207**, 15.

Garuḍapurāṇa
68, 9. 10. 27. 43 ; **69**, 23 ; **70**, 21 ; **71**, 12-15. 17. 18 ; **72**, 14-15 ;
73, 8-10 ; **76**, 1-4. 7.8 Uttkh **1**, 2 ; **2**, 15.

Matsyapurāṇa
193, 34. 35. 38-44

Padmapurāṇa
II, 43, 41, 43. **V, 43**, 71. **VI, 7**, 23. 24 ; **12**, 56 ; **13**, 34 ; **14**, 3.

Skandapurāṇa
II, 9, 73.

Vāyupurāṇa
1, 2.

Harivaṃśa
E, 3.

2. *Gīti* :

Like Aryā, but without the shortening of the sixth foot in the second line.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa
VI, **16**, 36-38. 40-43. 47

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
III, **4**, **14**, 12. **IV**, **3**, 96. 97 ; **10**, 5 , **61**, 17. 19.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
III, **42**, 28. 29.

Garuḍapurāṇa
71, 16. Uttkh **2**, 14 , **25**, 42.

Matsyapurāṇa
193, 37. 45.

Padmapurāṇa
VI, **8**, 14 , **224**, 18-23 , **255**, 66.

Vāmanapurāṇa
95, 91.

Harivaṃśa
E, 7.

3. *Upagīti* :

Like Āryā, but with only one short syllable in the 6th foot of both the lines.

Garudapurāṇa
(**76**, 6).

Padmapurāṇa
VI, **8**, 5.

Vāmanapurāṇa
95, 82

4. *Udgīti* :

Reversal of Āryā ; in the first line one short syllable only in the sixth foot.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa
VI, **16**, 34. 35.

Garuḍapurāṇa
76, 5.

Matsyapurāṇa
193, 36.

5. *Āryāgīti* :

Without any shortening ; in both the lines the sixth and the eighth feet contain 4 morae.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa
VI, **16**, 44.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
III, **4**, **25**, 7. 8.

Padmapurāṇa
IV, **112**, 1.2.

6. *Vaitālīya*:

1 3. ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
2. 4. ◡◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ⏓

Bhāgavatapurāṇa
IV, **7**, 32 (
X, **90**, 21.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
I, **5**, 106. 107.

Liṅgapurāṇa
I, **72**, 167 ; **107**, 53.

Matsyapurāṇa
140, 40.

Padmapurāṇa
IV, **5**, 2-5 ; **21**, 20 ; **25**, 1-3. **VI**, **112**, 32.

7. *Aupacchandasika*

1. 3. ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —
2. 4. ◡◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ — —

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
IV, **84**, 1. 2 ; **97**, 31.

Garuḍapurāṇa
68, 26. 28. 34. 42 ; **69**, 30. 31 ; **71**, 4 ; **73**, 14.15.

Kūrmapurāṇa
II, **26**, 78.

Matsyapurāṇa
69, 62 ; **81**, 1.2 ; **95**, 36 ; (**138**, 51. 52. 56).

Padmapurāṇa
I, **57**, 78; **V**, **21**, 22. 23 ; **23**, 70b. 71a. 73a.

Varāhapurāna
149, 3b

8. *Aparāntikā*

1. 3. 4 ⏑⏑⏑ – ⏑ ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
2. ⏑⏑⏑ -- ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏑ —

Bhāgavatapurāṇa
X, **31**, 1-18

9. *Aparavaktra*

1. 2. ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —
3. 4. ⏑⏑⏑⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

Brahmapurāna
33, 47 ; **237**, 12.

Matsyapurāṇa
133, 68-70 ; **136**, 63 ; **137**, 29. 30. 35. 36.

Padmapurāṇa
VI, **6**, 6a.

Harivaṃśa
II, **62**, 18 ; **85**, 78 ; **123**, 32. **III**, **6**, 13.

10. *Puṣpitāgrā*

1. 3 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —
2 4. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — —

Bhāgavatapurāṇa
I, **9**, 32-42. **III**, **4**, 27 28 ; **33**, 27. **IV**, **23**, 39 ; **31**, 20-22.
X, **7**. 24. 25 ; **21**, 2 ; **90**, 22. **XI**, **2**, 53-55. **XII**, **12**, 65-67.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa
I, **121**, 28 , **145**, 24. **IV**, **25**, 43 ; **26**, 41 ; **49**, 18 ; **85**, 54 ;
109, 35 ; **116**, 17 , **187**, 12. 14 ; **190**, 26-28 ; **206**, 30.

Brahmapurāṇa
32, 108 ; **36**, 124 ; **173**, 36.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa
II, **27**, 60. 95. 100. 128, **IV**, **39**, 24.

Garuḍapurāṇa
115, 31 ; **219**, 26.

Kūrmapurāṇa

I, **17**, 68.

Liṅgapurāṇa

I, **33**, 13. 18 ; **34**, 23 ; **71**, 37 ; **104**, 28.

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa

2, 63 ; **3**, 85 ; **106**, 65 ; **107**, 11.

Matsyapurāṇa

54, 31 ; **55**, 33 ; **57**, 28 ; **60**, 49 ; **61**, 57 ; **62**, 39 ; **69**, 63. 64 ; **77**, 17 ; **98**, 15 ; **100**, 37 , **115**, 19 ; **134**, 31-33 ; **136**, 64 ; **137**, 31-34 ; (**138**, 48-50) ; **139**, 45 ; **161**, 88. 89 ; **276**, 19 ; **281**, 14. 16 ; **285**, 21-23 ; **286**, 15. 16.

Padmapurāṇa

IV, **99**, 43-47. **V**, **20**, 42 ; **21**, 280 , **22**, 60. 104 ; **23**, 71b. 72 ; **24**, 96. 130. 278 ; **42**, 82. 83. **VI**, **6**, 6b ; **77**, 31 ; **194**, 102 ; **195**, 46 ; **197**, 104 ; **199**, 67. 68 ; **202**, 61 ; **223**, 60.

Śivapurāṇa

VII, **1**, **11**, 36 ; **15**, 35 ; **2**, **31**. 2.

Skandapurāṇa

(**I**, **25**, 73). **II**, **7**, 53.

Vāmanapurāṇa

(**18**, 27) ; **94**, 31.

Varāhapurāṇa

151, 4.

Viṣṇupurāṇa

II, **16**, 25. **III**, **7**, 14-35 ; **17**, 34. **VI**, **8**, 62.

Harivaṁśa

II, **85**, 79 ; **107**, 31. 32. **III**, **6**, 2-4. 9. 10 ; **42**, 20, 21 ; **48**, 29 ; **49**, 31. 48 ; **50**, 12 ; **51**, 18. 29. 42. 49.

11. *Indravajrā*

1-4. — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —

Agnipurāṇa

115, 40.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa

1, 18, 17 ; 19, 11, 14, 22, 28. II, 1, 29, 30, 32, 35 ; 2, 4.6a. 29 ; 3, 22 ; 6, 42. 43. III, 1, 20, 28, 37 ; 2, 18, 19, 24 ; 5, 1. 9. 39. 49 ; 13, 35b ; 21, 13. IV, 7, 41 ; 8, 18 ; 20, 15 ; 21,

10. 42. V, 5, 11. 13. 15. 20; 10, 11. 17. 22; 11, 11. 12; 12, 3. 6; 13, 13. VI, 3, 18; 8, 14. VII, 3, 33; 7, 21; 10, 47; 15, 75. VIII, 3, 20; 6, 9. 16a; 7, 25, 30; 19, 10; 23, 6. IX, 4, 53. X, 2, 26; 7, 31. 37; 12, 11. 40; 14, 8. 14-16; 46, 31. 33. 44; 64, 15; 81, 34. XI, 2, 33. 39. 49; 7, 42a; 11, 19. 20; 12, 19; 19, 8. 9; 22, 33; 28, 16. 18; 29, 38. XII, 4, 38.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa

I, E, 8; 4, 123; 5, 105; 41, 8. 29. 30. 45. 47. 48; 53, 25; 112, 14. 15; 124, 3. 6-8. 11; 131, 42; 145, 23. II, 1, 9, 82. 85. 88. 90a; 2, 19, 1. 2. 4. 7. 9. III, 3, 32, 117. IV, 50, 11; 83, 46, 49; 85, 24. 25. 34; 116, 12. 15; 117, 22; 130, 68; 179, 11; 195, 18; 204, 35; 206, 11. 15. 17; 207, 11.

Brahmapurāṇa

19, 27; 36, 10. 25. 106. 108; 38, 17-19; 49, 68; 75, 4. 8-10. 19. 22. 23; 94, 28. 29; 104, 106. 108; 110, 26. 31. 33. 44. 104; 114, 14; 116, 14; 117, 8. 15. 17; 122, 74. 76. 80. 81; 126, 24; 128, 29. 30. 35; 129, 75. 76. 78; 130, 23. 24. 26. 28. 30. 31; 140, 22. 24a; 143, 11. 12; 144, 19; 150, 22, 157, 19. 21; 167, 13; 174, 1. 5. 30; 175, 78b; 191, 27; 213, 170; 219, 35b; 220, 12; 228, 44. 68; 233, 75, 237, 39; 239, 105; 244, 36; 245, 37. 38.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa

II, 21, 116; 23, 37a. 38. 41; 29, 6; 35, 207, 210, 213. III, 27, 24b. 25b; 32, 32; 36, 51b; 37, 17. 18; 38, 42, 45; 39, 50b; 40, 33; 41, 10. 11. IV, 1, 205; 30, 12-14. 16. 17. 19. 22. 24. 29. 34. 40.

Bṛhan-Nāradīyapurāṇa

2, 25; 3, 86; 6, 24; 10, 54; 13, 206; 28, 69; 36, 30. 36.

Garuḍapurāṇa

68, 23, 36; 69, 3. 7. 9. 11. 27; 70, 2. 8. 24. 33; 73, 2; 75, 3; 77, 2bd. 3; 89, 31-33. 38. 39; 109, 50; 113, 51; 115, 19. 67; 159, 36; 160, 60; 226, 53.

Kūrmapurāṇa

I, 32, 26; 33, 40. II, 5, 19. 25. 27. 32. 33. 36; 38, 16. 17:

Liṅgapurāṇa

1, 5, 50; 29, 82, 53, 56; 54, 38a; 72, 65. 153. 159. 160; 85, 17; 106, 15. II, 19, 32.

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa

26, 35. 39; 39, 63; 43. 83; 91, 4. 27. 28. 30. 31; 96, 31-33. 38. 39; 103, 7; 136, 8. 9.

Matsyapurāṇa

8, 6; 21, 9. 28; 23, 30. 39; 37, 9; 54, 9. 21; 55, 7. 9; 57, 11. 14. 15; 69. 59; 83, 17; 92, 32; 98, 13; 100, 6. 15; 119, 45; 126, 38. 39; 135, 76. 77; 138, 27. 35; 139, 33. 39. 40. 43; 142, 4; 151, 31. 32. 35; 165, 24; 203, 14; 204, 18; 220, 47; 221, 12; 222, 10; 227, 217; 228, 29; 232, 15; 240, 27; 245, 25. 27; 250, 17; 274, 30-32.

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Die letzteren beiden Metren sind zwar einander gleich, werden aber von den Metrikern gesondert aufgeführt. Vgl. A. Weber, a. a. O. S. 386. 420.

36. Vasantatilakā

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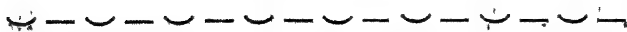
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43. Narkuṭaka

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ —

Bhāgavatapurāṇa

X, 87, 14-41.

44. Vibudhapriyā

— ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

Padmapurāṇa

VI, 236, 75-82.

45. Śārdūlavikrīḍita

— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —, — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —

Bhāgavatapurāṇa

I, 1, 1. 2. X, 13, 15. 19; 14, 18. 35; 26, 25; 43, 17; 87, 50; 90, 24; XII, 13, 1. 2. 18. 19.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa

I, E, 4; 34, 6; 44, 33; 137, 5. III, 2, 24, 5. IV, 1, 1. 2.

Brahmapurāṇa

1, 1. 2; 36, 88; 178, 193. 194; 245, 34. 35.

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa

III, 41, 55; 43, 8-10; 48, 8. 24. 43; 50, 16. 17.

Garuḍapurāṇa

109, 9. 18; 113, 15; 114, 14; 115, 2. 81; 222, 44.

Liṅgapurāṇa

1, 72, 70.

Padmapurāṇa

II, 43, 11. 35. 36; 58, 28; 98, 74-77. III, 25, 9. 18. IV, 10, 11; 22, 3; 79, 66; 90, 47; 93, 26; 99, 48. 51; 110, 206. 207; 112, 10. 11. V, 18, 404; 75, 91. VI, 4, 35. 48; 5, 16; 12, 2. 9; 14, 46; 19, 135. 136. 156; 23, 15. 23. 24. 40. 41. 44-46. 48. 49; 56, 22; 194, 72. 84. 85; 195, 44; 202, 62.

Śivapurāṇa

I, 24, 43. 46. 47; 25, 46. II, 2, 38, 34; 4, 1, 1; 6, 11. 12. 16. IV, 1, 1. V, 1, 1. 15, 5. VI, 23, 33.

Skandapurāṇa

1, 64, 62. III, 27, 91; 31, 50.

Skandapurāṇa

1, 52, 31. 32. III, 31, 52.

Vāmanapurāṇa

53, 33. 37; 56, 62; 73, 40-43; 89, 58; 91, 11.

Varahapurāṇa

1, 2.

*Summary**

A nearer view of the Purāṇas reveals the interesting fact that these works contain many artificial metres, such as are applied by Kālidāsa and other famous poets. In his Śakuntalā we find 21, in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa 24, and in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa 31 such metres. The investigation before us shows after an introduction: A. in a table of numbers how often each metre in the Mahāpurāṇas and in the Harivaṁśa occurs, and B. in a list of passages where each metre in the mentioned works is to be found.

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* In the original German article this summary in English has been given at the end by the author himself. (—Editor).

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF A PURĀṆIC VERSE RELATING TO ŚUṄGA DYNASTY

By

S. N. Roy

[अस्मिन् लेखे शुङ्गराजवंशपरम्परा निर्दिशतः श्लोकस्यैकस्य ऐतिहासिक-पद्धत्या तुलनात्मको विचारः प्रस्तूयते। एतस्य श्लोकस्य वायुपुराणीयः पाठः "पुष्यमित्रसुताश्चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति समा. नृपाः" ब्रह्माण्डपुराणीयात् "अग्निमित्रो नृपश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः' इत्यस्मात् पाठात् शब्दतोऽर्थतश्च भिद्यते। लेखकमहोदयेन ब्रह्माण्डपुराणीयः पाठ उचित इति मत्वा वायुपुराणीयपाठस्या-प्रामाणिकता प्रदर्शिता। यतः कश्चित्सम्पादकः "पुष्यमित्रसुतश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः" इति पाठं दृष्ट्वा व्याकरणानुरोधेन पश्चात् तथा संशोध्य ऐतिहासिकं तथ्यमविचार्यैव शुद्धमपि पूर्वं पाठमन्यथा कृतवान्। अन्यच्च इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरी हस्तलेखेऽपि वायुपुराणीयः "तत्सुतोऽग्निमित्राष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः" इति पाठः समुपलभ्यत एव। एवं अग्निमित्रस्याष्टवार्षिकं शासनमेव श्लोकार्थः द्रढयति, नतु साम्राज्यस्याष्टपुत्रेषु पुष्यमित्रेण समानं विभाजनं सूचयति। वायु-पुराणीयः पाठश्च हस्तलेखस्य ब्रह्माण्डपुराणपाठस्य चाधारेण संशोधनीय इत्यादि स्वमतं दृढं प्रतिपादितम् लेखकमहोदयेन।]

The Purāṇic verse which is being analysed here occurs in the dynastic section and has its reference to the account of the Śuṅga dynasty after Puṣyamitra. The cluster of verses of which it forms a part and which concerns with the description of the Śuṅga-dynasty is no doubt found in other early Purāṇa-texts,[1] but the particular details contained in the present verse seem to be found only in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa[2] Purāṇas. In these two

1 Matsya-Purāṇa. Chapter CCLXXII
Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Aṁśa IV. Chapter 24.
Bhāgavata. Skandha XII. Chapter 1.

2. Vāyu-Purāṇa. Uttara-bhāga XXXVI, 332.
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, III, 74. 151

3. Thus late Dr. R. S. Tripathi remarks in 'History of Ancient India' that 'Puśyamitra appears to have made vertually a feudal division of his extensive territories, for one version of the Vāyu Purāṇa states: 'पुष्यमित्रसुताश्चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति समा नृपाः' i. e. all the eight sons of Puśyamitra will rule simultaneously'. This suggestion was originally made by K. P. Jaiswal, see J. B O. R. S.; 1924, Vol X, Pt. III, pp. 205-207.

texts, again, the details are not identical and the verse is not uniformly worded. Thus in the Vāyu-Purāṇa, the verse reads : 'पुष्यमित्रसुताश्चाष्टौ भविष्यन्ति समा नृपाः' while the reading of the Brahmāṇḍa's version is : 'अग्निमित्रो नृपश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः'. Relying on the version of the Vāyu Purāṇa, some scholars are inclined to suggest that Puṣyamitra made a feudal division of the empire among his eight sons; who ruled simultaneously over its different units. It is proposed here to examine the amount of originality contained in the Vāyu's version and find out whether or not a distinct conclusion of the above nature, even in a surmisable manner can be formed on its basis.

The point which is of vital significance in the context of the present discussion is that the forms of the verse in the texts of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa differ seriously not only in respect of their general wording but also in respect of the general historical information which is likely to be gathered from them. Thus exactly speaking the Vāyu Purāṇa's verse conveys a fantastic account that the empire which was built up by the prowess of his arms could not remain a single whole after his death, as there were eight aspirants to it. These eight aspirants were Puṣyamitra's own sons. In order to avoid the possibility of a war of succession among them, Puṣyamitra divided his empire into eight administrative units to be ruled over by his sons, whose number corresponded with the number of the territorial divisions. On the contrary, the text of Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa supplies altogether a different information. According to it Puṣyamitra left behind him only one successor, and he was Agnimitra; whose rule continued for eight years. In view of the conflicting nature of the statements of the two texts one may look into the question as to which of these can refer to the real state of affairs. In consonance with the methodology that can be pursued while taking into account the value of the Purāṇic records, the relevant form of the present query seems to be the investigation as to in which of the two texts the stamp of earliness is more faithfully

preserved[1]. The traditional style which contributed to the make-up of the Purāṇa-texts has been addition and deletion of passages in them even after the latest stage of their reduction. It is, thus, very much difficult to become sure of the genuineness or otherwise status of a particular verse mainly on the basis of the source from which it comes. At such junctures, where the Purāṇas are not unanimous, the proper evaluation of their evidence is possible not so much by considering the period of the text containing it as by taking into account the period of the matter contained in it. In view of this, two broad facts come to the forefront : (1) The verse occurs in an early Purāṇa-text. But its earliness has not been effectively maintained. There are not only late chapters in it, but the original passages and verses are likewise either omitted or transformed in its early chapters at various places. (2) As a rule original passages and early verses of the Vāyu Purāṇa are mostly found in the text of Brahmāṇḍa, because both of them have sprung from the same parent-stock i. e. Vāyu Proktaṁ Purāṇaṁ[2]. It is, therefore, extremely doubtful if the present verse of Vāyu Purāṇa is the same as was composed in the original text.

The possibility of the above conclusion is made still more evident when it is observed that whereas the Brahmāṇḍa's form of the verse accords uniformly well with the general style adopted in the dynastic section of the Purāṇa-texts, there is a

1. Early and late chapters are found in both the texts. Very often even early chapters have passages of spurious character in them. New verses are incorporated into them and the older ones do not seem to retain their early forms. The vast volumes of the Purāṇa-texts are largely due to this trend and it has played an important role at the various stages of the Purāṇa-compilation.

2. The original unity of the texts of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa is too well-known for any special remark. Hazra feels that the separation of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa from the original text of Vāyu took place sometime in 400 A. D. (Purāṇic Records, p. 134). Analysis of this point has also been done by the writer of the present article in his previous two articles entitled 'On the Date of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa' (published in Purāṇaṁ, Vol. V. No. 2. p. 305 ff) and 'Some Late Chapters of Vāyu Purāṇa' (Published in Purāṇaṁ Vol. VI. No. 2. p. 366 ff).

distinct deviation from it in the version of Vāyu. Attention may here specially be drawn to the words अष्टौ and समा which have varied grammatical signification in the two versions.[1] The usual meaning of the word समा in the dynastic section is year and in association with the numeral figure it brings out the regnal duration of a particular king. The Brahmāṇḍa's version in which the words समा and अष्टौ are employed in order to denote the regnal duration of Puṣyamitra's successor seems quite consistent with this style. On the other hand, these words in the Vāyu's version present its make-up which has hardly any relevance in the set-up of the verses of which it is expected to be an essential part. The spurious character of Vāyu's verse is fully exposed from the consideration of the fact that the reference to Agnimitra is missing in the entire list of the text and the only verse in which such reference could be made is the present one. It is to be noted that Agnimitra's name either occurs or is at least indicated even in the Purāṇas whose account with regard to the Śuṅga-dynasty is a bit condensed in comparison to the texts of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa. This is a clear testimony to show that the verse has lost its original form in the text of the Vāyu Purāṇa.

It may further be argued on the basis of the Vāyu's verse that the compiler who prepared the edition of the Purāṇa at some late stage did not take into full account the precise order of succession after Puṣyamitra due probably very much to lack of historical sense in him. It appears that the original text which formed the basis of the new recension read the line as follows :

1. The irregular arrangement of Aṣṭau and Samā in the Vāyu's version had already been pointed out by Mr. Pargiter (Ibid, p. 31. Fn. 10). The remark which he makes in his brief note on the present verse implies that the words सुताः and नृपाः are erroneous conversions of their singular forms. Obviously in the converted forms of these words, अष्टौ and समा seem to be standing as adjectives in their relation ; whereas the general arrangement of the verses of the group and the particular style followed in them suggest that अष्टौ is a qualifying term in relation the noun समाः

पुष्यमित्रसुतश्चाष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृप:[1] The reference of the verse was thus obviously to the regnal period of Agnimitra, son and successor of Puṣyamitra. As the name of Agnimitra is only indicated in this verse instead of being directly mentioned and as the number of kings of the dynasty, whose names are enumerated hereafter is eight, the numeral figure was mistaken for a reference to the number of kings enumerated in the verses subsequent to the present one. The verse was thus reconstructed in accordance with the exegencies of grammar by a compiler who had little knowledge of historical traditions, as a result of which he was not well competent to realize that the verse was already correct and consistent in its original form.

Even if we set aside the above consideration in view of its being too conjectural for the purpose of proper history there is, nevertheless, an evidence of positive nature to prove that the verse composed in the original text was in the same very form as it is found in the text of Brahmāṇḍa. Thus in a version of Vāyu the verse reads : तत्सुतोऽग्निमित्राष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृप: It would be seen that so far as its general connotation is concerned this verse is very much similar to that of the Brahmāṇḍa text. It is found in the manuscript of Vāyu, which is preserved in the India office library. According to the observation of Pargiter, this manuscript is very valuable, because it agrees with the Matsya-text where it differs from the printed text of Vāyu.[2] The unity of the Matsya-text with that of the present text of Vāyu leads one to presume that the verses which are now missing in the Matsya had the same reading as the latter has got in it. From this it may also be adduced that the verse in the manuscript of Vāyu has got original elements in it, because the Purāṇa-text of the dynasties of the Kali Age is said to have its earliest form in the Matsya-Purāṇa.[3] The

1. See also notes on this verse by Pargiter (Ibid, p. 31) who is in favour of the similar corrected form. He also cites the parallels of other Purāṇa texts which either refer to the name of Agnimitra or simply allude to his reign after the reign of Puṣyamitra. In all these texts there is reference to only one son of Puṣyamitra.
2. Ibid, p. XXXIII.
3. Ibid, p. XIV.

loss of the verse under discussion in the available texts of the Matsya is evidently due to the revisionary trend of the Purāṇakāras; consequent upon which, as Hazra[1] shows, the text of Matsya-Purāṇa has been subjected to repeated additions and losses.

The various possible angles from which we have analysed the Vāyu-Purāṇa's verse in our humble attempt are tendentious to the following general remarks on it :

(1) That the form of the verse which is found in the printed texts of Vāyu points to its revision at a later date. When this revision took place, an attempt was made by the compiler at the readjustment according to his fancy without taking note of the meaning originally contained in it.

(2) That the verse cannot be made the basis for the history of the Śuṅgas unless otherwise it is corrected in the light of Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and that of the manuscript form of the Vāyu's text, cited above.

(3) That in its genuine form the verse simply refers to the duration of the reign of Puṣyamitra's son and successor, Agnimitra who ruled for eight years and not to the readjustment of the empire into eight feudal units.

1. Purāṇic Records, pp. 46-48

PURĀṆIC WISE SAYINGS IN THE LITERATURE OF "GREATER INDIA"

By

Ludwik Sternbach

[संस्कृतसाहित्ये सुभाषिताना बाहुल्यं वर्तते। रामायणे, महाभारते, पुराणेषु, काव्येषु च यत्र-तत्र सूक्तयः पिहिताः वर्तन्ते। अन्ये केचिद् ग्रन्थास्तु सूक्तिसंग्रहात्मका एव। यथा सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागारम्, चाणक्यराजनीतिसंग्रहम्। केचित्काव्यग्रन्थास्तु काव्यव्याजेनोपदेशप्रमुखाः। यथा वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका, शुकसप्ततिः, हितोपदेश इत्यादयः। भारतीयसंस्कृतेः प्रचारेण सहैव भारतीया ग्रन्थाः सुभाषितानि च विभिन्नदेशेषु प्रचलितानि जातानि। तिब्बत-मञ्चूरिया-नेपाल-वर्मा-सीलोन-श्याम-जावा-बालीप्रभृतिषु देशेषु संस्कृत-सुभाषितानि प्रचलितानि जातानि। लङ्कादेशे व्यासकारय-प्रत्ययशतकग्रन्थौ सुभाषितमयौ, ययोः बहवः श्लोकाश्चाणक्यनीतेः, हितोपदेशस्य, पञ्चतन्त्रस्य वा सन्ति। वर्मा-थाईलैण्डप्रभृतिदेशेषु 'पालीलोकनीतिः' नामको ग्रन्थः संस्कृतसुभाषितैः प्रभावितः। थाई देशे तु श्यामदेशीयसुभाषितान्यपि प्रचलितानि सन्ति, यानि संस्कृतप्रभावितान्येव। जावादेशीयप्राचीनसुभाषितानि प्रत्यक्षत एव संस्कृतसुभाषितैः संबद्धानि। तत्रत्यः सारसमुच्चयनामको ग्रन्थस्तु प्रायशः पूर्णत एव महाभारतात् संकलितः। पर्सियनभाषायामपि संस्कृतसुभाषितानामनुवादो जातः। केषाञ्चित्पौराणिकसुभाषितानां संग्रहः पुराणपत्रिकाया प्रकाशितो जातः। पुराणसुभाषितानां द्वौ संग्रहौ डा० करमरकरमहोदयेन कृतौ वर्तेते। डा० डे-हाजरामहोदयाभ्यां सम्पादिते पुराणेतिहाससंग्रहग्रन्थेऽपि केषाञ्चित् पौराणिकसुभाषितानां संग्रहोऽस्ति। विद्वद्भिरिदमपि पूर्वमेव प्रदर्शितं यद् 'बृहत्तर भारत' इति संज्ञया प्रसिद्धेषु देशेषु पुराणानि ज्ञातानि प्रचलितानि चासन्। तेषां प्रभावोऽपि तत्रत्यसंस्कृतावासीत्। ब्रह्म-अग्नि-विष्णुपुराणानि तु बाली-जावादिदेशेषु विदितान्यासन्। अत्रास्मिन् निबन्धे गरुडपुराणस्य बृहस्पतिसंहितायामुपलब्धानि वचनानि बृहत्तरभारतीयनीतिग्रन्थेषु कुत्र वर्तन्ते इति सारण्यां प्रदर्शितं वर्तते। गरुडपुराणातिरिक्तं मार्कण्डेय-वायु-मत्स्य-पद्म-स्कन्द-ब्रह्मवैवर्त-अग्नि-विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-शिवपुराणादीनां सुभाषितान्यपि तत्तत्प्रदेशेषूपलभ्यन्ते तेषामपि विवरणमत्र प्रदत्तं वर्तते।]

ABBREVIATIONS

ABay A. — Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Kl.

ABORI. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

AKM. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

AOS. American Oriental Series. New Haven.

BhP. or BhPn. Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa......publié par M. Eugène Burnouf...Paris, 1884, 1898.

BhPr. Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla...Pāṇduraṅga jivājī ...Bombay, śake 1854. *Also*: Bhojaprabandha of Ballāladeva of Banaras. Edited ...by Jagdishlal Shastri...Motilal Banarsidass......Patna, 1955.

BhŚ. Śatakatrayādi-subhāṣitasaṅgraha of Bhartṛhari ...by D.D. Kośambi. Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā 23, Bombay, 1948.

BSOAS. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

C. Cāṇakya.

ChSS. Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series.

CNr. Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (reconstructed). See Cr.

Cr. Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition (Cāṇakya-Nītiśākhā Sampradāya) in two volumes—Volume I, part I: the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatiro* (CVr), the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (Cvr), the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra (CNr), and the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṁgraha (CSr) versions; volume I, part II: the Laghu-Cāṇakya (CLr) and the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra (CRr) versions; Vol. II the Ur-text (in three parts). Six versions of collections of Cāṇakya maxims reconstructed and critically edited, for the first time, with introductions and variants from original manuscript, all available, printed editions and other

materials by Ludwik Sternbach. Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute. Hoshiarpur 1963-4. Viśveśvaranand Indological Series XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX.

CRr. Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (reconstructed). See Cr.

CRT. Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra. Ed. by Suniti Kumar Pathak. Viśva Bhāratī Annals, Vol. VIII. Santiniketan, 1958.

CSr. Cāṇakya-sāra-saṅgraha version (reconstructed). See Cr.

CVr. Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version (reconstructed) See Cr.

Cvr. Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version (reconstructed) See Cr.

DhN (P) or DhN The Dhammanīti in PMB. (Pāli).

GhN. Ghaṭakarpara's Nītisāra. In KSH 504-506.

GP. Garuḍa-purāṇa. Ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1890.

H. Hitopadeśa.

HJ. Hitopadeśa : The Sanskrit Text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged by F. Johnson; Second edition. Hartford-London, 1864. For other Hitopadeśa's edition. See L. Sternbach, Hitopadeśa and its Sources. AOS 44.

JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

KN(BI). Kāmandakīya-nītisāraḥ, ed. by Rājendralal Mitra, Bibliotheca Indica 4.

KSH. Kāvya-saṅgraha. A Sanskrit Anthology. Ed. by Dr. J. Haeberlin, Calcutta, 1847.

LN (P). The Lokanīti in PMB (Pāli) and in JASB 47, Part I, Calcutta, 1878 p. 239 sqq.

MBh. Mahābhārata.

MBh (Bh). Mahābhārata. Poona critical edition. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona, 1933—1966.

MBh(C). Mahābhārata. Calcutta edition. Royal Asiatic Society. Calcutta, 1834-9.

MBh (R). Mahābhārata. Ed. by Partāpa Candra Roy. Third edition. Calcutta, 1886-8.

MK (MKS). The Mādhavānalakathā...by Dr. P. E. Pavolini, IX International Congress of Orientalists, London, I, pp. 430-53. *Also*: Die Strophen der Mādhavānalakathā...von Hermann Schöhl, Halle c. d. S, 1914 (MKS).

Mn. Manusmṛti with the Manubhāṣya of Medhātithi, ed. by MM.G. Jhā, Vols. 1-2. Bibliotheca Indica 256.

Mṛcch. Mṛcchakaṭika of Śūdraka, 8th ed. NSP. 1950

NKy(B) or NKy. Nīti *K*yan. Translation of a Burmese Version of the Nīti *K*yan, a Code of Ethics in Pāli (Burmese). JRAS 17 of 1860, p. 252 sqq.

NM (T) or NM Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa, Tibetan and Sanskrit with an introduction in English, by Sunitikumar Pathak. Viśva Bhāratī Annals, Vol. X. Santiniketan, 1961. (Tibetan).

NŚ or NŚ(OJ). Nītiśāstra ; Oud Javaansche tekst met Vertaling nuitgegeven door R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka. Bibliotheca Javanica No. 4. Bandoeng 1933.

NSP. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay.

P. Pañcatantra.

PD. The Pañcatantra of Durgasiṁha by A. Venkatasubbiah. *ZII* 6.255 sqq.

PdP. Padma-purāṇa.

PLBN.	*L. Sternbach*, The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti-*K*yan and their Sources. BSOAS 26 2 ; pp. 329-345.
PM.	Eine vierte Jaina-Recension des Pañcatantra (Meghavijaya) von J. Hertel. *Z*DMG. 57. p. 649 sqq.
PMB.	*J. Gray*, Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources. London 1886.
PN.	Pañcatantra. Nepāli text, as quoted in PS. LXXXIX, PT. I. 153 ; 104-26 and PRE 2, 192 sqq.
PO.	The Poona Orientalist, Poona.
PP.	The Pañchatantra. A collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the recension, called Pañcākhyānaka ... ... of Pūrṇabhadra. by J. Herted. HOS. 11-2. Cambridge, Mas., 1908-12.
PPY.	Yaśodhīra's Pañcākhyāna, MSS 424 of 1879-80 and 289 of 1882-3. Deccan College Poona.
PRE.	The Pañcatantra I-V. The text in its oldest form. Ed. ... by F. Edgerton. Poona, 1930. *Also* : The Panchatantra reconstructed ... ... by F. Edgerton I-II. AOS 2-3. New Haven, 1924.
PrŚ(C)	Pratyayaśataka, Sannasahi tayi-Colombo 1867, *also* Pandure 1941. cf. footnote 25.
PS.	Das südliche Pañcatantra. Sanskrit text der Recension β mit den Lasarten der besten HSs. der Recension α ; berausg. von J. Hertel ; Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. XXIV. 5. Leipzig. 1906.
PT.	Über das Tantrākhyāyikā, die Kaśmirische Rezension des Pañcatantra mit dem Texte

der HS. Decc. Coll. VIII. 145 ; herausg. von J. Hertel ; Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. XXII. 5. Leipzig 1904. (PTem). *Also* : The Pañchatantra. A collection of ancient Hindu Tales in its oldest Recension, the Kashmirian entitled Tantrākhyāyikā; the origional Sanskrit text, *editio minor* ... ... (PT) by J. Hertel ; HOS. 14. Cambridge. Mass. 1915. *Also* ; Tantrākhyāyikā, die alteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt... ...von J. Hertel, I-II, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1909.

PT_2. *J. Hertel*, Eine Zweite Recension des Tantrākhyāyikā. ZDMG 59. 1-30.

Pts. Pañchatantra (*textus simplicior*), Edited with notes by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Bühler (II-V), Bombay Sanskrit Series 1, 3, 4. Bombay, 1891-6.

PtsK. Pantschatantrum, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens ... Edidit ... Io. Gedofr. Ludov, Kosegarten ... Pars prima, textum sanscritum simpliciorem tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum 1848.

R. or R (B) Rāmāyaṇa. Bombay edition. Reprinted. Bombay.

RN. or RN(P) The Rājanīti in PMB. (Pāli).

ShD or ShD(T) She-rab Dong-bu, ed. and transl. by Maj. W. L. Campbell, Calcutta 1919 (Tibetan), (cf. footnote 15).

Ślt (OJ) or Ślt Ślokāntara, an Old Javanese didactic text. Edited and annotated by Sharada Rani, Dvīpāntara-piṭaka being the Indonesian Collection in the Series of Indo-Asian Literature forming the Śatapiṭaka. Vol. 2. International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi, 1957, (Old Javanese).

ṢN (P); The Suttavaḍḍhananīti in PMB. (Pāli).

Spr. *L. Sternbach*, The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India". Journal of the Greater India Society. Vol. XVIII. Nos. 1-2 ; See footnote 1.

SRN (T) or SRN Sa-skya legs bcad. Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi. W. L. Campbell, *Ost-Asiatische Zeitung, Neue Folge* 2 of 1925 ; pp. 31-65 ; 159-185. See also footnote 17.

SS (OJ) or SS. Sāra-samuccaya in Śata-piṭaka Series 24. Ed. by Dr. Raghu Vīra. New Delhi, 1952. See footnote 32 (Old Javanese).

SSJT. *L. Sternbach*, Sanskrit Subhāṣita-Saṁgraha-s in Old Javanese and Tibetan, ABORI 43 ; pp. 118-158.

Śts. Die Śukasaptati, textus simplicior, herausgegeben von Richard Schmidt. AKM 10. 1, Leipzig. 1893.

ŚtsA. Der Textus Simplicior der Śukasaptati in der Recension der Handschrift A. Ed. by R. Schmidt. ZDMG 54. 515-547 and 55.1-44.

ŚtsM. *R. Schmidt*, Die Marāṭhī Übersetzung der Śukasaptati : Marāṭhī und Deutsch. AKM X. 4, Leipzig 1897.

ŚtsPet. Śts ; Petersberg MS, Asiatic Museum No. 74. Quoted in Ch. Lassen's *Anthologia Sanscritica*, 2nd ed. Bonnae and Rhenum 1868.

Śto. Der Textus ornatior der Śukasaptati. Kritisch herausgegeben von Richard Schmidt. ABayA 21. Abth. 2. 1898-9.

TK (OJ) or TK. Tantri-Kāmandaka, Een Oudjavaansche Pañvtjatantra Bewerking, door C. Hooykaas. Bibliotheca Javanica 2. Bandoeng, 1931. (See also footnote 31). (Old Javanese).

VC. Vikrama's Adventures, or the thirty-two tales of the throne ...... Edited in four ... recen-

sions : Southern (VCsr.), Metrical (VCmr.), Brief (VCbr.), Jainistic (VCjr) ; also sections from Vararuci's recension ... and translated into English ... ... by Franklin Edgerton ... ... 2 vols. HOS, 26, 27. Cambridge, Mass, 1926.

Vet. — Die Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa und eines Ungenannten mit kritischem Commentar. Herausgegeben von Heinrich Uhle. AKM. 8. 1. Leipzig.

Vet Hu[1] — *H. Uhle*, Die Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā des Śivadāsa nach einer Handschrift von 1487. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der kön. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philol. Klasse 66. Bd. 1. Heft, 1914.

Vi. — Viṣṇu-Smṛti ; ed. by J. Jolly. Bibliotheca Indica 91.

Vyās (C) or Vyās. — Vyāsakāraya. In Sanskrittexte aus Ceylon herausg. von H. Bechert. München, 1962.

ZDMG. — Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZII. — Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.

Subhāṣita-s in the Literature of "Greater India"

1. The Sanskrit literature was very fond of wise sayings, sententious verses, adages, maxims, aphorisms, etc. and there exists a great number of anthologies, Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s, containing such *subhāṣita-s*.

Even some of the literary works, particularly belonging to the *kathā* literature, are in reality works composed for the purpose of creating Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s tied together by a story. These literary works were written in particular in order to teach princes through *subhāṣita-s* the way of life and their moral conduct. To such *kathā* works belong the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa and to a lesser extent the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, the Vikramacarita and the Śukasaptati.

2. *Subhāṣita-s* were not only popular in India, but with the spreading of the Indian culture into "Greater India", they become also popular among the Tibetans, Mongolians, Manchurians, Nepalese, Ceylonese, Burmese, Siamese, Chams, Khmers, Javanese, Balinese, etc.

3. We find in the Tibetan Tanjur the wise sayings of Masūrākṣa and even the whole Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, and such works as the She-rab Dong-bu and the Vimala-praśnottara-ratnamālā, as well as the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi (Sa-skya-legs-bcad); the latter contains several hundred *subhāṣita-s*, some of Indian origin, of such a high moral value that they were also translated into Mongolian and Manchurian and were included in the Mongolian literature.

4. In Nepāl, the whole Cāṇakya-sāra-saṁgraha version was well-known and many Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s, e. g. the Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa were prevalent.

5. In the *kathā* literature of the Simhalese we find also many *subhāṣita-s* of Sanskrit origin; the literature of Ceylon contains the whole collection of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version as well as two Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s in Simhalese script known under the name of Vyāsakāraya and the Pratyayaśatakaya.

The first one, despite the name Vyāsa in its title does not contain, as far as could be ascertained, any Mahābhārata verses.

However, about 70 per cent of the verses could have been identified. Some of them belong to the Cāṇakya's collections, some to Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s* and to other works containing sententious verses. The great number of verses included in the Vyāsakāraya are also found in the South Indian Subhāṣita-saṁgraha, the Sūktiratnahāra, in which they were ascribed to Vyāsakāra.

Over 50 per cent of the sententious verses included in the Pratyayaśatakaya could have been identified. Many of them belong to the collections of Cāṇakya's verses, many to Bhartṛhari's *śataka s*, the Hitopadeśa, the Pañcatantra, etc. Many of the latter verses were also included in Cāṇakya's collections. Therefore, it is impossible to come to the conclusion whether they were taken from the collections of Cāṇakya's verses or from the Hitopadeśa, the Pañcatantra, etc.

Also proper Simhalese collections of wise sayings, such as the Subhāṣitaya of Alagiyavanna, the Lōkōpakāraya by Raṇasgallē Thera, the Anurāgamālaya, and particularly the Attaragama-Baṇḍāra's Vadankavipota show borrowing from Sanskrit wise-sayings, either directly or through the Tamil Nālaḍiyār.

6. Through the Maṇipurian Puṇṇas wise sayings spread to Burma and were incorporated into the Pāli literature of Burma; they were included into the Pāli Lokanīti. It is worth noting that very few Buddhist teachings were included in the Lokanīti; there, most of the sententious verses are Brahmaṇistic. The Pāli literature of Burma included also Sanskrit wise sayings in the Dhammanīti and in the Suttavaḍḍhananīti and the Rājanīti. Particularly the second and third contain a greater amount of Buddhist sayings. There is also in Burma prevalent the Nīti *K*yan which, in reality, is the translation of the Pāli Lokanīti into Burmese. Also the whole Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version could be found in Burmese, while in the Rājādhirāj, prevalent among the Mōñs and Peguans, some *subhāṣita-s* of Sanskrit origin could be traced.

7. The Pāli Lokanīti spread also from Burma (or from India) into Thailand, Cham, Khmer and Xieng Mai cultures. The

T'ais knew also the maxims of King P'hrang Rūang (Baññat P'hra Rūang), but these as well as the Pū-sön-Lān and the Lān-sön-Pū (teachings of the grandfather to the grandson and of the grandson to the grandfather) contain wise sayings which could, however, in some cases only, be traced to Sanskrit sources.

In Thailand we also find several Siamese Sup'hāsit-s (*subhāṣita-s*) influenced by Sanskrit literature and in particular the Pip'hek-sön-but and the Pāli-son-nön, both of which are based on the Rāmāyaṇa. Also the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version of Cāṇakya's aphorisms was known in Thailand.

In Champa, Kambuja-deśa and Lāos and even in the Malay Peninsula the Lokanīti was well known. In Cambodia the Lokanīti-pakarana (for *prakaraṇa*) is still well known; it was lately reissued in 1936 by Ven. Ouk Chea Vacirannanbhavongs in Pnom Penh. Also in Pnom Penh the Rājaniti (for Rājanīti) and the Sup'hāsit ebāp srī Bāky kāby, Anāk Okñā Suttant Prijā. Téñ Īnd were published in 1941 and 1951 respectively and contain *subhāṣita-s* in Pāli and Khmer respectively, based partly on the Sánskrit *nīti*-literature and *subhāṣita-s* influenced by Amaru.

Lāo proverbs, mainly collected in Xieng Mai, in the Pū-sön-Lān and Lān-sön-Pū, also show Sanskrit influences. We also know about the existence in Lāos of a Pāli Lokanīti of about 400 verses.

8. The maxims found in the Old Javanese literature are directly connected with the Sanskrit wise sayings. The Sāra-samuccaya is, in reality, an anthology of sententious verses borrowed almost in its entirety from the Mahābhārata.

The Old Javanese Ślokāntara contains also a great number of maxims of Sanskrit origin characteristic by its wording which often differs from the Sanskrit wording of verses, but comprises the same thoughts. The two other Old Javanese works, the Nītikāmandaki (Tantri-Kāmandaka which despite its author Kāmandaki has nothing to do with the author of a political work, but is an Old Javanese translation of the Pañcatantra) and the Nītiśāstra of Nītisāra contain a number of Sanskrit maxims,

9. Even the Persians translated the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra, while Aṭ-Torṭūshī in Spain compiled in Arabic in the 12th or 13th century A. D. a collection of maxims "for an Indian King" under the name Siragu al-Mulūk. These maxims are based on Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*.[1]

Wise sayings in the Purāṇa-s

10. The Purāṇa-s, in general do not contain a great number of wise sayings, but some are found scattered in almost all the Purāṇa-s. In addition to the wise sayings from the Purāṇa-s published up-to-date in the "Purāṇa" (III. 1 ; pp. 61-3 ; IV. 1 ; pp. 154-7 ; IV. 2 ; p. 408 ; V. 1. pp. 137-143 ; VII. 2 ; pp. 288-290 ; and VIII. 1 ; pp. 168-169) there exist two anthologies of Purāṇic wisdom, viz. the *Aṣṭādaśapurāṇāntargata-nītisāra-subhāṣita-saṅgrahaḥ* (Purāṇic Words of Wisdom) by Dr. A. P. Karmarkar (Bhāratīya Vidyā VII), and the *Purāṇa-kāvya-stotra-sudhā* (The Purāṇic Anthology) edited by the same Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, Mira Publishing House, Thalakwadi, Belgaum 1955. As far as the Purāṇic *subhāṣita-s* are concerned, the second collection contains almost the same *subhāṣita-s* from the Purāṇa-s as the first one, as well as the same mistakes.

Scattered Purāṇic *subhāṣita-s* also appeared in the Purāṇetihāsasaṁgraha (An Anthology of the Epics and Purāṇas) ed. by S. K. De and R. C. Hazra in the *Sāhitya Akademi Publications*, Vol. II.

Purāṇa-s in Java, Bali and Kambuja-deśa

11. Already R. Friedman in the middle of the nineteenth century in his *Voorlooping Verslag von het Eiland Bali,* published in the *Verhandlingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* (1849-50)[2] has shown that the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa was well-known in Bali. It was also known in Old Java. Goris, in his *Oudjavaansche en Bali-*

1. For more details about the spreading of Sanskrit wise-sayings over "Greater India", see *L. Sternbach*, The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over 'Greater India' in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2 and in *Greater India Society Series*. (Spr.)

2. Translated in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (NS) 8 ; pp. 57-218 ; 9 ; pp. 59-120 ; and X ; pp. 49-97 and republished as "The Civilization and Culture of Bali" ; Susil Gupta, 1959.

neesche Theologie has also shown that the Śivaistic Bhuvanakośa, known in Java and the Agni-purāṇa show a similarity (e. g. chapter 121). Also the Viṣṇupurāṇa was known in Java and Bali and the Veṇa and Niṣāda's birth, as given in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, is almost identical with that included in the *kakawin* Kalyavanāntaka ; it must have been influenced by the Viṣṇu-purāṇa.[3]

12. R. C. Majumdar has also shown[4] the thorough preponderance of the Purāṇic form of Hindu religion in the Tuk Mas in Java, as well as in Champa.[5] It is also known from a Sanskrit inscription from the sixth century A. D. that in Kambuja-deśa arrangements were made for the daily recitation of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇa-s[6] and it was considered a pious act to present copies of these texts to temples.[7] The Sanskrit inscriptions in Kambujadeśa also show an intimate knowledge of the Purāṇa-s.[8] The authors of these inscriptions derived undoubtedly their literary culture from the *itihāsa-s* and the Purāṇa-s.[9]

13. G. Coèdes concluded : "*pendant toute la période hindoue, le Rāmāyaṇa et le Mahābhārata, le Harivaṁśa et les Purāṇas ont été les principales, sinon les uniques sources d'inspiration des littératures locales. Dans toute l'Indochine indienne, en Malaisie, à Java, toute cette littérature épique et légendaire constitutue encore la Itrame du téatre classique, des danses, du théatre d'ombres et des marionettes...*" and "*L'hindouisation doit donc s'entendre essentiellement comme l'expansion d'une culture organisée, fondée sur la conception hindoue de la royauté caractérisée par les cultes hindouistes et bouddhiques, la*

3. *H. Bhusan Sarkar,* Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali ; Calcutta, 1934, p. 35.
4. *R. C. Majumdar,* Hindu Colonies in the Far East, Calcutta, 1963, p. 28.
5. *Idem.* p. 165 and 208.
6. But it is not known what Purāṇa-s.
7. *R. C. Majumdar, op. cit.,* p. 208.
8. *R. C. Majumdar, op. cit.,* p. 209.
9. *G. Coèdes,* The Making of South East Asia, London, 1966, p. 94 ; *G. Coèdes,* Les Etats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, Paris, 1948, p. 127.

mythologie des Purāṇas, l'observance des Dharmaśāstras, et ayant pour moyen d'expression la langue sanskrite.[10]

Although the greatest authority on the spreading of Indian Culture in South East Asia knows that the Purāṇa-s were prevalent in South East Asia, it seems impossible, as it was impossible for G. Coèdes, with the exception of those given above[11], to determine which of the Purāṇa-s were prevalent in the hinduized kingdoms of South East Asia ; it is however doubtless that the religion as incorporated in the Purāṇa-s influenced greatly the religious life of the hinduized kingdoms of South East Asia.

Purāṇic Subhāṣita-s in the Literature of "Greater India"

14. With the exception of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, which is an abbreviated collection of maxims of the Cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra version[12] and forms an integral part of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, the *subhāṣita-s* found in the Purāṇa-s are scattered throughout all the Purāṇa-s and although some Purāṇas were known in "Greater India", *subhāṣita-s* contained in the Purāṇa-s can only be traced in Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s known in "Greater India". They were mentioned in paragraphs 1-9 above.

(a) **Tibet**

15. Since the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa in the form of the Tibetan Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra[13] was included in the Tibetan Tanjur and, thus became prevalent in Tibet, we must assume that whenever the CRT text is identical with GP,

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10. *G. Coèdes,* Les Etats Hindouisés, *op. cit.,* p. 422 and 36. The Old Javanese Sārasamuccaya (cf. para 23 below) mentions also the Purāṇa-s next to *itihāsa-s* and Vedas as it states in verse 45 ;

    इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
    बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रचरिष्यति ॥

    (identical with MBh (Bh) I. 1. 204).

11. See para. 11.
12. See *Purāṇa* VI. 1 ; pp. 113-146 ; VII. 1 ; pp. 19-86 ; and VIII. 2 ; pp. 315-429.
13. Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra by *Suniti Kumar Pathak. Viśva Bhāratī Annals,* VIII, Cf. Spr. paras. 5-14 ; also *L. Sternbach.* The Tibetan Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, ABORI 42.99-122 and *L. Sternbach,* Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s in Old Javanese and Tibetan, ABORI 43 ; pp. 118-158.

and that is the case of the greatest part of CRT, then the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of GP was known also in Tibet. Therefore, in Annex I which gives in tabular presentation the Purāṇic verses known in "Greater India" the first column gives the *subhāṣita-s* of GP. The second and third column shows the appropriate places in which the GP. text appears in the CRT text (i.e. in the Tanjur) (3rd column).[14]

16 Other Tibetan texts, such as the She-rab dong-bu i. e. the Nītiśāstra Prajñādaṇḍa,[15] the Nīti-śāstra of Masūrākṣa[16] and the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi[17] appear in Column 3.

SRN(T) was also translated into Mongolian and West Mongolian (Kalmuk) and even Manchurian.[18] These translations are included, whenever identical with a Purāṇa text, in the last column of Annex I.

However, I could not trace any Purāṇic *subhāṣita-s* to another Subhāṣita work in Tibetan, viz. the Vimala-praśnottara-ratnamālā.[19]

17. Usually the CRT text was also included in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version and was edited by me in Cāṇakya-Nīti-Text Tradition, Vol. II, part II (Text reconstructed).[20] The number of the verses is then included in column 3, while the *adhyāya* and the verse number of CRT. in column 2; wherever, however, the CRT. text did not appear in the reconstructed

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14. See para. 17 below.

15. She-rab Dong-bu by Li Thub (Nāgārjuna), ed. and transl. by *Maj. W. L. Campbell*, Calcutta 1919. Cf. Spr. paras. 15-19 and SSJT.

16. Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa, Tibetan and Sanskrit with an Introduction in English by *Sunitikumar Pathak* in *Viśva Bhāratī Annals* X, and *L. Sternbach's* review in JAOS 82.3; pp. 407-411. Cf. Spr. para. 23 and SSJT.

17. Sa-skya legs bcad. Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi by *W. L. Campbell* in *Ost-Asiatische Zeitung, Neue Folge* 2 of 1925; pp. 31-65 and 159-185. *S. E. Bosson.* "A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels". The Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita...University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Cf. Spr. paras. 24-28 and SSJT.

18. Cf. Spr. paras. 35-38.

19. Ed. and transl. by *A. Schiefner. Academia scientiarium Petropolitana* 1958 and edited in Tibetan and Sanskrit by *Suniti Kumur Pathak* in *Journal of the Greater India Society* 17.92 sqq.

20. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, No. 29A.

Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version, it appears in Cr, vol. II, part III;[21] in that case the Cr. number is given in column 2.

(b) **Ceylon**

18. Purāṇic verses of wisdom found in Ceylonese (Simhalese) literature are shown in Annex I in columns 4 and 5. Since some verse of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version which was included in the literature of Ceylon[22] are identical with GP. they are marked in column 4. They refer to my reconstruction of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version CNr. in Cr.[23]

19. Other texts of Sanskrit origin found in Ceylonese literature, either in Sanskrit (in Simhalese script) or in Simhalese translation are the Vyāsakārāya[24] and the Pratyayaśatakaya;[25] both these texts were primarily used in Ceylon by students for learning of Sanskrit. These two texts are mentioned in Annex I in column 5.

(c) **Burma**

20. The Purāṇic words of wisdom were also sometimes included in the literature of Burma, particularly the Pāli literature of Burma. The main work is, in particular, the Pāli Lokanīti[26]

21. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, No. 29B.

22. Cf. Spr. paras. 39-40, 42-3.

23. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, No. 27, part III.

24. Published by *H. Bechert* in "Sanskrit-texte aus Ceylon". *I. Schultexte, Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* München 1962; also *L. Sternbach* On the Sanskrit Nīti-Literature of Ceylon. 1. The Vyāsakāraya and Cāṇakya's Aphorisms...in *Brāhmavidyā* 31-32; pp. 636-663. Cf. Spr. Addendum to Annex I.

25. Pratyayaśataka(ya), sannasahi tayi, Colombo 1867 and Pandure 1941; also *L. Sternbach* On the Sanskrit Nīti-Literature of Ceylon. 2. The Pratyayaśatakaya...in Brāhmavidyā.

26. *Sayadaw*, Shwehintha Tawya Sayadaw (Lawkanīdi Pwin Akyē *K*yān, Rangoon 1923; *also* edited in Pāli with Burmese translation by *Thiri Pyanchi U Tha Myat*, Rangoon 1954; and Lokanīti in Pāli with meaning in Burmese ed. by the *Iksathara Pāli Scholar Society. Iksathara Piṭika Printing Press*, Rangoon; and in English translation in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources* by *J. Gray* (PMB), London 1886. Cf. Spr. paras 54-56 and *L. Sternbach's* The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti-*K*yan and their Sources in BSOAS 26.2, pp. 329-345 (PLBN).

and its Burmese equivalent (translation) the Nīti-Kyan.[27] Both these works are marked in Annex I in column 6. The first figure refers to the LN(P) verse and the second to the NKy(B). verse.

21. Since the Lokanīti was also known in Champa, Khmer, Kambuja-deśa and is still known in Thailand, Cambodia, Lāos, among the Mōñs, and all over South East Asia, whenever Purāṇic words of wisdom are found in LN(P) a cross is given for these countries in column 8.

22. Purāṇic words of wisdom in the Pāli literature of Burma are also found in the Dhammanīti, Rājanīti, Suttavaḍḍhannanīti.[28] They are marked whenever they are identical with a Purāṇic *subhāṣita* in column 7.

(d) **Java, Bali**

23. In the Old Javanese literature we find quite a number of *subhāṣita-s* identical with the *subhāṣita-s* found in the Purāṇa-s. They are marked in column 8.

The following works, mostly Old Javanese Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s, often tied together by a tale, were consulted ; the Old Javanese Nītiśāstra of Nītisāra,[29] the Old Javanese Ślokāntara,[30] the Tantri Kāmandaka[31] and the Sārasamuccaya (or Sārasamuccaya

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27. Burmese version of the Nīti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pāli, JRAS 17 of 1860, pp. 2 2-266. Cf. Spr. 59-60 and PLBN.

28. Published in English translation in PMB. Cf. Spr. paras 62-63, 67-69, 72-73 and PLBN.

29. Nīti-śāstra, Oud Javaansche tekst met Vertaling uitgegeven door *R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka. Bibliotheca Javanica No, 4.* Bandoeng, 1933. Cf. Spr. 103-106.

30. Ślokāntara, an Old Javanese didactic text critically edited and annotated by *Sharada Rani. Dvīpāntarapiṭaka being the Indonesian Collection in the Series of Indo-Asian Literature forming the Śatapiṭaka,* vol. 2. *International Academy of Indian Culture,* Delhi 1957. Cf. Spr. paras. 109-111 SSJT.

31. Tantri Kāmandaka, Een Oudjavaansche Pañtjatantra Bewerking in tekst en vertaling uitgegeven door *Dr. C. Hooykaas. Bibliotheca Javanica,* No. 2. Bandoeng 1931, *C. Hooykaas,* Tantri de middel-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking, Leiden 1929; *C. Hooykaas,* Kamandakīya Nītisāra etc. in Old Javanese in *Journal of the Greater India Society 15.* Cf. Spr. paras. 100-101, 113-116 and SSJT.

Tutur), an Old Javanese *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* mainly based on the Mahābhārata.[32]

24. A great part of the Mahābhārata was also discovered in Java and Bali ; it is in *kakawin*.[33] The Bhaṇḍarkar edition of the Mahābhārata contains a list of Sanskrit passages from the Javanese version of the Mahābhārata, in particular of the Ādiparvan (Vol. I, Appendix II), Udyogaparvan (Vol. 6. Appendix II), and Bhīṣmaparvan (Vol. 7, Appendix II, the old Javanese Bhagavadgītā). Some of the Mahābbārata *subhāṣita-s*, particularly of the Vidura-nīti in the Udyogaparvan also appear in the Purāṇa-s and through the Mahābhārata found their way in the literature of Java and Bali ; however, these *subhāṣita-s* were not recorded in Annex. I.

25. The *subhāṣita-s* found in the Purāṇa-s and in the literature of "Greater India" (under the literature of "Greater India", I understand only the literature of the countries East, South and North of India and not West of India, e. g. Iran where we also find some Persian translations of the Purāṇa-s) are seldom translated and incorporated in these literatures word for word ; they contain mostly the same idea but do not contain a literal translation of the Purāṇic words of wisdom. This is particularly evident in the Ślokāntara, the text of which is usually different from the original.

Origins of Purāṇic subhāṣita-s in the literature of Greater India

26. It is not certain, and even very doubtful, whether in the majority of cases the *subhāṣita-s* which appear in the Purāṇic texts were incorporated into the literature of "Greater India" directly from the Purāṇa-s or from other Sanskrit primary sources. In Annex II the Purāṇic texts (if they appear not only in the

32. Sārasamuccaya, ed. by the late *Dr. Raghu Vira* in *Śatapiṭaka Series* 24, New Delhi 1962; Eene oudjavaansche Vertaling van indische Spreuken door *Dr. H. H. Juynböll* in *Bijdragen tot de taal–, Land- en Volkendunde van Nederlandschhe-Indie* VI/8=52, 1801 ; pp. 393-98. Cf. Spr. paras 118-120, and SSJT.

33. See in particular *H. B. Sarkar*, Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, Calcutta 1934, chapter XI.

literature of "Greater India" but also in other Sanskrit primary sources) are given, for the purpose of comparison, whenever a textual comparison would have to be made among the various texts.

27. The GP. text, in the majority of cases, was taken in the literature of "Greater India" from the collection of Cāṇakya's aphorisms and not from the GP. The old Javanese Sārasamuccaya has more likely borrowed from the Mahābhārata text directly than from any Purāṇa text which happened to be identical with the Mahābhārata text, and in many other cases it is more likely that the Pañcatantra, or the Hitopadeśa, or the Mahābhārata, or the Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s*, or the Rāmāyaṇa, where the primary sources for the literature of "Greater India". It can be said that in the majority of cases when a *subhāṣita* from the latter sources was identical with the *subhāṣita* from a Purāṇa text, it came to be known in the literature of "Greater India" from these sources and not from the Purāṇa-s ; however, that is not always the case.

Annexes

28. The following Annex I gives a better account of the *subhāṣita-s* identical in the literature of "Greater India" and the Purāṇic *subhāṣita-s*.

The analysis of the Annexes shows that most of the *subhāṣita-s* of the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa are found in Tibet, Ceylon, Burma and Java. Certainly (because of CRT.) they are mostly found in the Tibetan Tanjur, and from there probably in other Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s known to exist in Tibet. Many of these maxims spread also through the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version to Ceylon and through the Lokanīti to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Lāos, etc. It is however very interesting to note that as many as 47 maxims of GP. became also prevalent in Java and Bali.

In addition to the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa we find also scattered Purāṇic *subhāṣita-s* of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (4), Vāyu-purāṇa (5), Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3), Bhāgavata-purāṇa (5), Matsya-purāṇa (5), Padma-purāṇa (4), Skanda-purāṇa (9),

Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa (2), Agni-purāṇa (1), Viṣṇudharmottara (1), Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (3), Śiva-purāṇa (2) and Vāmana-purāṇa (1) mostly in the literature of Java and Bali, but also the literatures of Tibet, Burma (and through the Lokanīti of other South-East Asian countries), as well as Ceylon. Annex I illustrates these points clearly.

It must be noted that many more identical verses of the Purāṇa-s could be traced to the literature of "Greater India", but this study is confined to *subhāṣita-s* in the Purāṇa-s and not to Purāṇic verses in the literature of "Greater India."

Annex II shows where the Purāṇic texts mentioned in Annex I appear also in other primary sources of Sanskrit literature. It is arranged in the order of the first column of Annex I.

ANNEX I.

GP	Tibet		Ceylon		Burma		Lokanīti (Thailand, Cambodia Laos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mongolia and Others
	Tanjur (CRT)	Other	CN(C) (CNr)	Other	(LN(P) & NKy	Other			
1.108.3	1.6	Cr 915							
1.108.6	1.8	Cr 260							
1.108.12	1.7	Cr 169							
1.108.13	1.10	Cr 641		PrŚ(C)84					
1.108.14	1.11	Cr 649			79/109	DhN 107	×	Ślt 51	
1.108.15	1.12-3	Cr 1043	CNr 32			DhN 52			
1.108.16	1.12-3	Cr 607							
1.108.18	1.14	Cr 1070						TK 17	
1.108.19	1.15	Cr 607							
1.108.20	Cr2020/1.16								
1.108.21	Cr1344/1.17								
1.108.22	1.18	Cr 838						TK 13, NŚ 5 5	
1.108·23	Cr1850/1.19								
1.108.24	Cr1849/1.21								
1.108.25	1.22	Cr 477	CNr 41		126/154	DhN 179	×		
1.108.26		Cr 428		Vyās 64	42/59	DhN 408	×	TK 43	
1.109 1	2.1	Cr 142	CNr 27						
		NM 3.5							

GP	Tibet		Ceylon		Burma		Lokanīti	Java & Bali	Mongolia and Other
	Tanjur (CRT)	Other	CN(C) (CNr)	Other	LN(P) & NKy (B)	Other	(Thailand, Cambodia Laos, Xiengmai)		
1.109.2	2.2	Cr 431	CNr 29		156/180	DhN 205	×		
1.109.3	2.3	Cr 911							
1.109.4	2.4	Cr 903	CNr 30		159/182	DhN 83	×		
1.109.5	2 5	Cr 365							
1.109.6	2.6	Cr 92							
		NM 6.9		PrŚ(C) 12					
1.109.7	2.7	Cr 37							
1.109.8	2.8	Cr 140							
1.109.9	2.9	Cr 958		PrŚ(C) 2					
1.109.10	2.10	Cr 890	CNr 31		78/108	DhN 98	×		
		NM 3.7							
1.109.11	Cr1104/2.11								
1.109.12	2.12	Cr 166							
1-109.13	2.13	Cr 840							
1.109.14	2.14	Cr 527	CNr 25			DhN 239		TK	
		NM 5.9				cf SN 52		16 & 76, NŚ 13.2, Ślt 23	
1.109.15	2.15	Cr 87	CNr 32		28/-	DhN 52	×		
1.109.17	2.16	Cr 245							
1.109.18	2.17	Cr 305							

1.109.19	2.18	Cr 826							
1.109.20	2.19	Cr 827 (SRN 342)	CNr 35		114/142	DhN 79	×		cf. SRN 342
1.109.21	2.21	Cr 504							
1.109.22	2.22	Cr 811							
1.109.23	2.23	Cr 1064							
1.109.24	2.24	Cr 458 NM 5.9				DhN 239 SN 52		TK 16 & 76, NŚ 13.2, Ślt 23	
1.109.25		Cr 738						SS 202	
1.109.28		Cr 20						SS 272	
1.109.32	2.25	Cr 392	CNr 19		82/112	DhN 252	×		
1.109.33	2.26	Cr 159 ShD 182	CNr 76		161/206	DhN 164	×	NŚ 13.8	
1.109.38		Cr 546			104/130				
1.109.40	2.27	Cr 577						SS 437	
1.109.41	2.28	Cr 534							
1.109.42	2.29	Cr 424 ShD 111 (SRN 29)		PrŚ(C)49	(35)/-	(DhN 352)	×	(Ślt 62)	(SRN 29)
1.109.43	2.30	Cr 1103							
1.109.44		Cr 755						SS 29	
1.109.46		Cr 980						(TK 45)	
1.109.52		Cr 127						TK 11, Ślt 82	
1.110.1	3.1	Cr 860	CNr 61						

GP*	Tibet		Ceylon		Burma		Loka-nīti (Thailand, Cambodia, Loos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mangolia and Other
	Tanjur (CRT)	Other	CN(C) (CNr)	Other	LN(P) & NKy(B)	Other			
1.110.3	3.2	Cr 746	CNr 50					TK 17, NŚ 1.14, SS 183	
1.110.4	3.3	Cr 8						Javanese MBh(Juynboll 237)	
1.110.5	3.4	Cr 914						TK 30	
1.110.7	3.5	Cr 1111							
1.110.8			CNr 14					TK 50, NŚ 39, Ślt 26	BhP 2.56,22
1.110.9	Cr1608/3.6								
1.110.10	3.7	Cr 1078							
1.110.11	3.8	Cr 1097							
1.110.13	3.9	Cr 293, ShD 26							
1.110.15	3.10	Cr 896							
1.110.16	3.11	Cr 230							
1.110.17	3.12	Cr 568							
1.110.18	3.13-4	Cr 814							

1.110.19	3.15	Cr 1024 NM 6.12	ÇNr 17		85/110		×	
1.110.20	3.16	Cr 978						
1.110.21	3.17	Cr 182	CNr 20					
1.110.22	3.18	Cr 68						
1.110.23	3.19	Cr 49A						
1.110.24	3.20	Cr 253						
1.110.25	3.21	Cr 501	CNr 33		160/(205)		×	
1.110.26	3.23-4	Cr 625	CNr 34		113/141	DhN 78	×	
1.110 29	Cr 1656/3.30							
1.110.30	3.31	Cr 569						
1.111. 1	4.1	Cr 660 NM. 7.1				(RN 2)		
1.111. 2	4.2	Cr 872 (SRN 163)						(SRN 163)
1.111. 3	4.3	Cr 675 ShD 8 (SRN 323)				(RN 93) DhN 182		AṭTorṭūṣī p. 188 (SRN323)
1.111. 4	4.4	Cr 462						
1.111. 5	Cr 1660/4.5	(Cr 191)						
1.111. 6	4.7	Cr 413						
1.111. 9		Cr 1029		Vyās 15				
1.111.12		Cr 772	ÇNr 3	Vyās 48				
1.111.17		Cr 8.44 NM 6.7 SRN 49			167/211		×	SRN 49

GP	Tibet		Ceylon		Burma		Loka-nīti Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mangolia and Other
	Tanjur (CRT)	Other	CN(C) (CNr)	Other	LN(P) & NKy(B)	Other			
1.111.18		Cr 429 NM 6.8			81/111	DhN 75	×		
1.111.24	4.8	Cr 522							
1.111.26	4.9	Cr 335							
1.111.27	Cr 1354/4.10								
1.111.28	Cr 1461/4.12								
1.111.29	Cr 1899/4.13								
1.111.30	Cr 1213/4.14								
1.111.31	Cr 1900/4.15				(134/161)		×		
1.111.32	4.16	Cr 180							
1.111.33	Cr 1272/4.17								
1.112.1	5.11	Cr 645						NŚ 15.3	
1.112.3		Cr 805 NM 4.20		PrŚ(C)34				NŚ 35, Śit 80	
1.112.4	5.5	Cr 290	CNr 100			RN 10		(Śit 20)	

1.112.5	5.6	Cr 785			
1.112.6	5.7	Cr 162	CNr 106		RN 12
		(NM 7.14)			
1.112.7	5.4	Cr 790			
1.112.8	5.8	Cr 719			
1.112.9		NM 7.15	CNr 103		
1.112.10	5.9	Cr 665	CNr 105		(RN 17)
		(NM 7.16)			
1.112.11	5.3	Cr 149	CNr 101		(RṄ 18)
		NM. 7.13			
1.112.12	5.2	Cr. 963	CNr 99		(RN 20)
		NM 7.9			
1.112.13		Cr 892	CNr 6		(DhN 254)
1.112.14	5.15	Cr 498			
1.112.15	5.16	Cr 466	CNr 23	Vyās 34	
1.112.16	5.17	Cr. 2	CNr 103		
1.112.17		Cr 420			
		NM 6.16			
1.112 18	5.18	Cr 339			(DhN306-7)
		NM 6.17			(RN 96-77)
1.112.19	5.19	Cr 609			
		NM 6.18			
1.112.20	Cr1404/5 20				
1.112.21	(5.1 *ad*)	Cr 359			
1.112.22	5.22	Cr 1011			
1.112.23	5.23	Cr 784	CNr 84		
1.112.24	5.25	Cr 799			

GP.	Tibet		Ceylon		Burma		Lokanīti (Thailand, Cambodi, Laos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mongolia and Other
	Tanjur (CRT)	Other	CN (C) (CNr)	Other	LN (P) & NKy (B)	Other			
1.112.25	Cr1495/5.26							(TK 42)	
1.113.1	6.1	Cr 341							
1.113.2	6.2	Cr 1036							
1.113.6		Cr 803							(SRN324)
		(SRN. 324)							
1.113.7	6.3	Cr 916				(DhN 182)			(SRN323)
		(SRN 323				(SN. 62)			
		ShD 29)							
1.113.8	6.4	Cr 15				(SN 60)			
		NM 4.2*ab*							
		4.4 *cd*							
1.113.9	6.5	Cr 894							
1.113.10	Cr 2025/6.6							SS 168	
1 113.12	(6.7)	Cr 435						(SS 182)	
1.113.29		Cr 1738						SS 361,	
								Ślt 31	
1.113.33	Cr1368/6.9								
1.113.34	Cr1863/6.10								
1.113.35	6.11	Cr 90						(SS 269)	
1.113.36	6.12	Cr 1060						SS 271	
1.113.37	6.13	Cr 1031							

1.113.41	6.14	Cr 551						SS 312 Javanese MBh. (cf. Juynböll 228
1.113.42	Cr1519/6.15							
1.113.43	6.16	Cr 555						
1.113.46	6.17ef	Cr 203						SS 288
1.113.48		Cr 590		Vyās 68				
1.113.52	Cr1813/6.18							
1.113.53-4		Cr 806						
1.113.55	Cr1820/6.19							SS 383
1.113.56	6.20	Cr 325						SS 359
1.113.58		Cr 842			75/106	DhN 348	×	SS 347
1.113.60	6.21	Cr 1053						SS 487
1.113.61	6.22	Cr 1081						
		ShD 64						
1.113.62	Cr1831/6.23							Ślt 76
1.114.1	7.1	Cr. 525	CNr 21					
1.114.2	7.2	Cr 1003						
1.114.5	7.3	Cr 816						
1.114.6		Cr 1786						
1.114.8	Cr1136/7.4							SS 448
1.114.13		Cr. 6		PrŚ (C)42	125/153	DhN 209	×	
		NM 5.10						
1.114.15	7.6	Cr. 582						
1.114.18	Cr2037/77.							
1.114.19	7.8	Cr 987						

GP.	Tibet		Ceylon		Burma		Lokanīti (Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mangolia and Other
	Tanjur (CRT)	Other	CN (C) (CNr)	Other	LN (P) & NKy (B)	Other			
1.114.21	Cr1666/7.11								
1.114.22	7.12	Cr 565	CNr 18						
1.114.24	Cr1592/7.13								
1.114.26	7.14	Cr 955							
1.114.27	7.15	Cr 702							
1.114.28	Cr1141/7 16								
1 114.30	7.17	Cr 998 ShD 54	CNr 62						
1.114.31	7.18	Cr 1039							
1.114.32		Cr 740	CNr 94						
1.114.35	7.19	Cr 278							
1.114.36		Cr 604		PrŚ(C)64					
1.114.37	7.20	Cr 991							
1.114.38	7.21	Cr 830							
1.114.39	7.22	Cr 459							
1.114.46	Cr 2077/7.25	(SRN 167) (NM 4.11)							SRN 167
1.114.47		Cr 566 NM 4.8							
1.114.48	7.26	Cr 964 NM 6.13							

GP	Tibet		Ceylon		Burma		Lokanīti (Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mangolia & Other
	Tanjur (CRT)	Other	CN(C) CNr	Other	LN(P) & NKy(B)	Other			
1.115.26	8.14	Cr 120						NŚ 3.2, (Ślt 9)	
1.115.27	8.15	Cr 741							
1.115.28		Cr 148							
1.115.29				PrŚ(C)3				SS 378	
1.115.30	8.16	Cr 828							
1.115.31	8.17	Cr 123							
1.115.36	8.19	Cr 831						SS185	
1.115.38	8.20	Cr 1084							
1.115.39	Cr1177/8.21								
1.115.41		Cr 475	CNr 60		118/146	DhN 149	×		
1.115.42	Cr1821/8.23								
1.115.43	8.24	Cr 807							
1.115.44	Cr1904/8.25								
1.115.45		Cr 418 NM 2.6							
1.115.46		Cr 194 NM 3.3							
1.115.47		Cr 581 NM 3.4							

1.115.48	8.26	Cr 646 NM 3.6			(80/110)	DhN 87	×	
1.115.49	Cr1535/8.27							
1.115.51	8.28	Cr 407						
1.115.52	8.29	Cr 570 NM 3.12						
1.115.54	8.30	Cr 409						
1.115.55	Cr1858/8.31							
1.115.60		Cr 1057						SS 471
1.115.62	8.32	Cr 54						
1.115.63	8.33	Cr 661						
1.115.65		Cr 49						SS 435
1.115.66	Cr1584/8.34	(Cr 108)						
1.115.67	8.35	Cr 89		PrŚ(C) 13				
1.115.74	8.36	Cr 130		Vyās 70				TK 49, NŚ 2.8, Ślt 80
1.115.76	8.37	Cr 482						
1.115.78		Cr 285						SS 302
1.115.80		(Cr 499)	CNr 7		18/18			
1.115.81		Cr 1935		PrŚ(C) 4				

Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	Tibet: Tanjur (CRT)	Tibet: Other	Ceylon: CN(C) (CNr)	Ceylon: Other	Burma: LN(P) & NKy(B)	Burma: Other	Lokanīti (Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mongolia and Other
14.18-9								SS 287	
29.39-40								SS 236, Javanese Mahābhārata, (Juynböll 237)	
34.62-3								SS 159	
34.112-3					113/141	DhN 78		×	
Vāyu-purāṇa									
93.95								SS 429	
93.98								SS 422	
93.101								SS 462	
93.102				(cf. Vyās 30)				SS 457	
93.103								SS 463	
Viṣṇu-purāṇa									
4.10,9								SS 429	
4.10,10								SS 422	
4.10,12								SS 462	

7.2,40		SS 433
9.19,13		SS 422
9.19,14		SS 429
9.19,16		SS 462
9·19,17		SS 448
28.4		SS 101
28.5		SS 450
36.6		SS 107
36.11		SS 126
215.8-13	(NM 7.3-18)	
Padma-purāṇa		
Sṛṣṭi-kh.		
54.21	CNr 75	SS 439
224.47		Ślt 16
Bhūmi-kh.		
81.47		SS 359
Uttara-kh.		
7.23		NŚ 4.23
Skanda-purāṇa		
Māheśvara-kh.		
Kumārika		
2.10	Vyās 6	
46.41		SS 462

Skanda-purāṇa	Tibet: Tanjur (CRT)	Tibet: Other	Ceylon: CN(C) (CNr)	Ceylon: Other	Burma: LN(P) & NKy(B)	Burma: Other	Lokanīti (Thailand), (Cambodia, Laos, Xiengmai)	Java and Bali	Mongolia & Other
Avantya-kh. Caturaśīti-kh. 25.40					115/143	DhN 261	×	SS 109	
Revā-kh. 103.128								NŚ 5,4	
Nāgara-kh. 26.18								SS 370	
37.14								SS 343	
185.15								(SS 470)	
196.6								SS 436	
Prabhāsa-kh. 255.32								SS 421	
(Kśetra-māhā-tmya) 1.23.63		ShD 182			161/200	DhN 164		NŚ 13.8	
2.56.22	Cr 957/3.5							NŚ 3.9,Slt 26 TK 50	
Agni-purāṇa 2.20,1 sqq.		(NM 7.3-18)							

Viṣṇu-dharmottara 2.24,4-6	(NM 7.3-18)					
Bhaviṣya-purāṇa						
Brahmaparvan 4.182						SS 441
4.184						SS 448
Uttara-parvan 102.29			(120/148)		×	
Śiva-purāṇa						
Śatarudra 38.18		Vyās 70				NŚ 2.8, Ślt 81 TK 49,
Rudrasaṁhitā 4.219,52	ShD 85					
Vāmanapurāṇa in ŚKDr *ads* बर				DhN 397		

Annex II

Garuḍa-purāṇa

1.108.14 HJ 3.101, BhŚ 958
1.108.15 HJ 1.138, Vet 1.26, Śts 40·10 ; 63, 7-8
1.108.18 MBh 1.74.39, HJ 1.211
1.108.22 Śts 374.36.7
1.108.25 PtsK 1.235, HJ 2.120
1.108.26 HJ 324, BhŚ 519
1.109. 1 Mn 7.213, MBh 1.160.27 and 5.37.18, Pts 1.356 and 3.86, HJ 1.43, VCsr 12.1, VCjr 20.1, Śts 321.12-3, Vet 19.16, HDh 14, BhPr 198
1.109. 2 MBh 1.115, 36 ; 2.61, 11 and 5.36, 17, P (PT 1.118, PTem 1.107, PS 1.105, PN 2.83, Pts 1.355 and 3.84, PRE 1.117), HJ 1.159, Śts 21.4-5, VCjr 28.3, MK 76
1.109. 4 HJ 1.107, PP 1.77
1.109.10 PS 1.26, HJ 4.108
1.109.14 PP 1.52, HJ 1.18, VCsr VII 8, VCjr VII 1, Śts 20.9-10
1.109.15 HJ 1.138, Vet 1.26, Śts 40.10 and 63.7-8
1.109.20 HJ 1.109, Śts 332.22-8
1.109.28 MBh 5.38, 76-7, Śts 82.6-7, Śts 360.8-9
1.109.32 Vet 4.7
1.109.33 Pañcarātra 1.14, 96, HJ 2.118 & 4.8, Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa 1.23,63
1.109.38 PtsK 1.227
1.109.40 PP 1.106, Pts 1.137, PtsK 1.153, HJ 2.114, VCsr VI 10, MK 153
1.109.52 Mn 8.26, P (PP 1.21, Pts 1.44) HJ 2.47, Vet 1.8
1 110. 1 P (PP 2.143, Pts 2.137, PtsK 2.144, PD 302,41, PM 2.55, HJ 1.227)
1.110. 4 MBh 2.5, 112 and 5.38, 66-7, PP 2.150, Pts 2 147, PtsK 2.154
1.110. 5 Vet 7.4
1.110.13 HJ 1.142, BhŚ 34
1.110 19 PP 2.27 and 4.13, Pts 2.32 and 4.14, PtsK 2.330 and 4.15, PT 2.29, PN 1.17, PS 2.19, PRE 2.19, HJ 2.147, MBh 1.142, 82 and 12 140, 30,

1.110.26 HJ 1.110. Cf. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 34.112-3
1 111. 3 MBh 5.33,17, PM 1.82
1.111.12 PT 3.63, PTem 3.49, PN 3.32, PP 1.390, Pts 1.402, PtsK 1.450, PRE 3.52, PM 1,173, HJ 1.13, Vet 16.12.
1.111.17 PT 2 52, PS 2.31, PN 1.28, Pts 1.3, PtsK 1.3, PRE 2.31, PM 1.3, HJ 1.134, VCSr 12.5, Śts Intr 39 and 6.3, ŚtsA 46.2, ŚtsM 6.2
1.111.18 PT 2.54, PP 2.106, PRE 2.33
1.112.15 HJ 2.91, BhŚ 27
1.112.17 Pts 1.248, PtsK 1.278
1.113.8 HJ 2.9
1 113.9 PS 4.6, PN 4.2, PRE 4.14, HJ 4.87
1.113.10 MBh 5.33, 38
1.113 29 MBh 12.181, 15 and 12.322.15
1.113.36 Mn 5.106, Vi 22.89 (and *nibandha-s*)
1.113.42 PT 2.55
1.113.48 MBh 13,163, 11, HJ 2.15, (cf. Bhāgavata-purāṇa 7.2, 40, PT 2.113, PTem 2.102, PS 2.66, PN 1.62, PP 5.53, Pts 5.7 and 2.9, 105, PtsK 2.11 and 113, PRE 2.68, HJ Pr 29, and 4.9, VCsr VII 13 and 12.3-4, VCmr 12.38-9, VCjr 12.6)
1.113.53-4 MBh 12.181, 16; 12, 332, 16 and 13.7, 22-3, P PT 2.106, PTem 2.95, PP 2.135, Pts 2.125, PtsK 2,134, PM 1.46, PdP, Bhūmi-Kh. 81.47
1.113.56 MBh 1.74, 81
1.113.58 HJ Pr 17
1.113.61 MBh 12.174, 20, Vet Hu[1] MS 16.16 and *ad* 16.175
1.114.1 HJ 1.73
1.114.2 PT 2.170 and 4.7, PTem 2.152, PS 2.83 and 4.3, PN 1.79 and 4.3, PP 2.195, Pts 2.179, PtsK 2.194, cf. 2.59, PRE 2.95 and 4.7, PM 2.73, HJ 1.225
1.114.6 Bhāgavata-purāṇa 9.19,17, Bhaviṣya-purāṇa 4.184, HJ 1.126, Mn 1.215.
1.114.19 PT 1.153, PTem 1.140, PS 1.132, PN 2.106, PP 1,373, PRE 1.144, PM 1.59.

1.114.32 HJ 1.206
1.114.36 Aṣṭarātra 3 (KSH 7)
1.114.47 Pts 2.39 and 4.13, PtsK 2.43 and 4.14, PP 4.12, Śts 21.3, ŚtsA 23.2, Śts Pet 28b)
1.114.49 MBh 12.140,66
1.114.59 BhPn. 10.114
1.114.66 PT 1.14, PTem 1.11, PP 1.334, Pts 1.335, PtsK 1.376, PML 137 ; cf. HJ 1.35
1.114.69 MBh (Bh) *ad* 12.167,20 ; 449* lines 32-3, R 4.34.12, PP 1.248 and 4.10, Pts 4.10, PtsK 4.10
1.114.72 PT 3.142, PT_2 3.147.
1.115.1 MBh 12.139,32, Harivaṁśa 1160
1.115.4 MBh 1.139,93
1.115.18 Vet 4.15
1.115.23 PP 2.64, PtsK 2.82, PPY 73(68), HJ Pr 27, Vet 8.8)
1.115.28 BhŚ 200, Vet 23.5
1.115.31 PT 1.12, PTen 1.9, PS 1.15, PN 2.11, PP 1.15, PRE 1.14, PM 1.14, HJ 2.42
1.115.36 PP 3.88, Pts 3.96, PtsK 3.97, PM 3.32 ; cf. HJ 1.169
1.115.45 PP 1.170, PD 307.102, HJ 4.17 and 1.58, Vet 11.7
1.115.46 PT 3.114, PS 3.69, PN 3.59, PP 3.219, Pts 3.178, PtsK 3.256, PRE 3.99, PM 3.76, PT_2 3.119.
1.115.47 PP 5,64, Pts 5.84, PtsK 5.70, PM 5.47, Vet 25.1 (p. 117), Śts 23.33
1.115.48 PP 1.284, PM 1.78, HJ 1.79
1.115.52 HJ 3.64
1.115.60 PT 2.165, PTen 2.147, Pts Göttingen Ges. Anz. 1862, p. 1363, (HS *ad* 1.180)
1.115.63 HJ 1.128.
1.115.65 MBh 13.38,16, Pts 1.142, PtsK 1.158
1.115.76 VCSr 3.10, VCmr 3.91-2, Śto Intr 49.
1.115.78 Pts 2.88, PtsK 2.96
1.115.80 HJ Pr 38
1.115 81 VCSr 9.3, VCjr 21.1, Guṇaratna 3, HJ *ad* Intr. 48

Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa

14.18-9 MBh 12.322,3
29.39-40 MBh (Bh) 5.39,25
34.62-3 Mn 4.134
34.112-3 See above GP 1.110,26

Vāyu-purāṇa

93.95 MBh (Bh) *ad* 1.80,9 ; 840* lines 1-2, Mn 2.94, Harivaṁśa 1639, Viṣṇu-purāṇa 4.10.9, Bhāgavata-purāṇa 9.19,14.

93.98 MBh (Bh) *ad* 1.80,9 ; 840* lines 3-4; Harivaṁśa 1640, Kullūka *ad* Mn 2.94, Viṣṇu-purāṇa 4.10,10, Bhāgavata-purāṇa 9.19,13, KN (BI) after 1.36.

93.101 MBh (Bh) 12.168,45 and 12.268,12, Harivaṁśa 16.43, Viṣṇu-purāṇa 4.10,12, Bhāgavata-purāṇa 9.19,16, Skanda-purāṇa, Kaumāri Kh. 46.41.

93.102 Harivaṁśa 1644, PP 5.63, Pts 5.83, PtsK 5.15, BhŚ 504

93.103 MBh (Bh) 12.171,15 and 12.268,6, Saṁkara's *bhāṣya* on Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad 4.3,33, Yogasūtra *bhāṣya* on 2.42.

Viṣṇu-purāṇa

4.10.9 See above Vāyu-purāṇa 93.95
4.10.10 See above Vāyu-purāṇa 93.98
4.10.12 See above Vāyu-purāṇa 93.101

Bhāgavata-purāṇa

7.2,40 See above GP. 1.113,48
9.19,13 See above Vāyu-purāṇa 93.98
9.19,14 See above Vāyu-purāṇa 93.95
9.19,16 See above Vāyu-purāṇa 93.101
9.19,17 See above GP. 1.114,6

Matsya-purāṇa

215.8-13	Cf. MBh. 1.100, 12, 85, Agni-purāṇa 220,1 sqq, Viṣṇudharmottara 2.24, 4-6, KN 12.2, 18.27-43, Mn 7.63-4, K 1.16; 2.33, Mānollāsa 2.2,90-2.

Padma-purāṇa

Sṛṣṭi-kh. 54.21	HJ 1.127, Vet, Intr. 1 (cf. 3.10).cf Mn 2.94, BhPṇ 7.19,14
224.47	Vet 19.11, Cr. 1868
Bhūmi-Kh. 81.47	See above GP 1.113, 53-4
Uttara-Kh. 7.23	Cr 2068, BhŚ 801

Skanda-purāṇa

Māheśvara-Kh.	
Kumārika 46.41	See above Vāyu-purāṇa 93,101
Āvantya.Kh.	
Revā-Kh. 103.124	(Cf. PS 2.32, PN 1.29, PP 2.80, PRE 2.34, HJ 1,135, VÇsr 21,1, VÇm 21.19-20, Vet 3.2, Cr 72, Mṛcch. 1.8)
Nāgara-Kh. 26.18	MBh (R) 12.276, 13, MBh (Bh) 12.309, 72, Vṛddhasātātapa-smṛti 61, Viṣṇudharmottara 1.117
185.15	HJ 1.196, Pts 1.401 and 2.116, Pts K 1.149 and 2.124)
196.6	PP 1.142, Pts 1.185, Ptsk 1.199, HJ 1.130
Prabhāsa 255.32	PT 2.79, PTem 2.68, PP 2.97, PS 2.42, PN 1.38, PRE 2.47, HJ 1.152

Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa

1.23, 63	See above GP 1.109, 33
2.56, 22	See above GP 1.110, 8

Agni-purāṇa

2.20, sqq.	See above Matsya-purāṇa 215.8-13

Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa

2.24, 4-6	See above Matsya-purāṇa 215.8-13

Bhaviṣya-purāṇa

Brahma-parvan	
4.184	See above GP 1.114, 6
Uttara-parvan	
102.29	CVr 4.11, Vet. 4.29, VCmr 2.70-1

Śiva-purāṇa

Śatarudra 38.18	See above GP 1,115,74
Rudrasaṁhitā 4.216,52	P (PT 1.62, PTem 1.55, PS 1.54, PN 2.39, PP 1.172, Pts 1.214, PtsK 1.245 and 3.68, PRE 1.63, PM 1.81, HJ 2.129, Śto 40.1, CVr 10.16.

कूर्मपुराण-सुभाषितानि

(पूर्वभागात्)

धर्म-महिमा—

परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ ।
सर्वलोकविरुद्धं च धर्ममप्याचरेन्न तु ॥ (१. २. ५३)

धर्मात् संजायते ह्यर्थो धर्मात् कामोऽभिजायते ।
धर्म एवापवर्गाय तस्माद्धर्मं समाश्रयेत् (२. ५४)

यस्मिन् धर्मसमायुक्तौ ह्यर्थकामौ व्यवस्थितौ ।
इह लोके सुखी भूत्वा प्रेत्यानन्त्याय कल्पते ॥ (२. ५७)

धर्मात् संजायते सर्वमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनः ।
धर्मेण धार्यते सर्वं जगत्स्थावरजंगमम् ॥ (२. ६१)

काल-महिमा—

करोति कालः सकलं संहरेत् काल एव हि
कालः स्थापयते विश्वं कालाधीनमिदं जगत् ॥ (१२. २४)

कालः सृजति भूतानि कालः संहरते प्रजाः ।
सर्वं कालस्य वशगा न कालः कस्यचिद् वशे ॥ (२. ३. १६

अपूज्यपूजने पूज्यापूजने च दोषः—

अपृज्यपूजने चैव पूज्यानां चाप्यपूजने ।
नरः पापमवाप्नोति महद् वै नात्र संशयः ॥ (१. १५. २६)

असतां प्रग्रहो यत्र सताञ्चैव विमानना ।
दण्डो दैवकृतस्तत्र सद्यः पतति दारुणः ॥ (१५.२७)

इष्टदेवतात्वं—

या यस्याभिमता पुंसः सा हि तस्यैव देवता ॥ (२२.४० उ.)

(उत्तरभागात्)

अहिंसा-महिमा—

अहिंसायाः परो धर्मो नास्त्यहिंसापरं सुखम् ॥ (२.११.१५पू.)

सत्य-महिमा—

सत्येन सर्वमाप्नोति सत्ये सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ (११.१६पू.)
सत्येन लोकाञ्जयति सत्यं तत् परमं पदम् ॥ (१५.३४पू.)

संतोषः—

प्राशस्त्यमृषयः प्राहुः सन्तोषं सुखलक्षणम् ॥ (११.२७उ.)

गुरुः—

गुरुरग्निर्द्विजातीनां वर्णानां ब्राह्मणो गुरुः ।
पतिरेव गुरुः स्त्रीणां सर्वस्याभ्यागतो गुरुः ॥ (१२.४८)

आत्महितसाधनं—

न धर्मं ख्यापयेद्विद्वान् न पापं गूहयेदपि ।
कुर्वीतात्महितं नित्यं सर्वभूतानुकम्पनम् ॥ (१५.१७)
मातापित्रोर्हिते युक्तो गोब्राह्मणहिते रतः ।
दान्तो यज्वा देवभक्तो ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥ (१५.२४)
भूतानां प्रियकारी स्यान्न परद्रोहकर्मधीः । (१५.४१पू.)

गृहस्थलक्षणं—

विभागशीलः सततं क्षमायुक्तो दयालुकः ।
गृहस्थस्तु समाख्यातो न गृहेण गृही भवेत् ॥ (१५.२६)

ब्राह्मणलक्षणं—

क्षमा दया च विज्ञानं सत्यं चैव दमः शमः ।
अध्यात्मनिरतज्ञानमेतद्ब्राह्मणलक्षणम् ॥ (१५.२७)

परान्नग्रहणे दोषः—

दुष्कृतं हि मनुष्यस्य सर्वमन्ने व्यवस्थितम् ।
यो यस्यान्नं समश्नाति स तस्याश्नाति किल्बिषम् ॥ (१७.१५)

अतिथिपूजनं—

पूजयेदतिथिं नित्यं नमस्येदर्चयेद्विभुम् ।
मनोवाक्कर्मभिः शान्तः स्वागतं स्वगृहं गतः ॥ (१८.११०)

दानमहिमा—

यद् ददाति विशिष्टेभ्यः शिष्टेभ्यः श्रद्धया युतः ।
तद् विचित्रमहं मन्ये शेषं कस्यापि रक्षति ॥ (२६.३)
दानधर्मात् परो धर्मो भूतानां नेह विद्यते ॥ (२६.५५पू.)

सदाचरणं—

दृष्टिपूतं न्यसेत् पादं वस्त्रपूतं जलं पिबेत् ।
शास्त्रपूतां वदेद् वाणीं मनः पूतं समाचरेत् ॥ (२८.१६)

तीर्थसेवाविधिः—

यस्य वाङ्मनसी शुद्धे हस्तपादौ च संस्थितौ । (उ.३७.१८गघ)
अलोलुपो ब्रह्मचारी तीर्थानां फलमाप्नुयात् ॥ (३७.१८)
यः स्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य तीर्थसेवां करोति हि ।
न तस्य फलते तीर्थमिह लोके परत्र च ॥ (४४.२०)

SOME LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES IN THE PURĀṆAS.

By

R. A. Pathak

[प्रस्तुतलेखे लेखकमहोदयो भाषाविज्ञानपद्धत्या पौराणिकभाषागतवैशिष्ट्यविवेचनद्वारा पुराणानां परमप्राचीनत्वं, वेदानन्तरप्रणीतत्वं, महाभारतसमकालिकत्वं च प्रतिपादयति । पुराणेषूपलभ्यमाना नैकविधा अपाणिनीयाः प्रयोगाः सर्वथा छन्दोऽनुरोधेनानियमाः प्रयोगा इति मतं सयुक्तिकं निराकरोति; वैदिकैः शब्दैश्च सह तादृशाणां प्रयोगाणां साम्यं प्रदर्श्य तेषां वैदिकाधारत्वं साधयति । मन्यते चासौ यत् पुराणसम्पादकैः एतादृशाः शब्दाः पाणिनिनियमाननुसृत्य यथाकालं संशोधिता आसन्, येन तेषां मौलिकं स्वरूपं बहुधा विकृतिं जातम्, येन च कारणेन विद्वद्भिः पुराणानां परवर्तित्वमूहितम् । तथापि अवशिष्टाः तादृशा बहुशः प्रयोगाः पुराणेषु इदानीमपि प्राप्तुं शक्यन्ते, ये तु संस्कृतभाषाविकासस्येतिहासदृष्ट्या अत्यन्तमेव महत्त्वपूर्णाः, उपयोगिनश्च सन्ति । तथा हि पुराणानां भाषाविकासदृष्ट्याऽऽवश्यकत्वं प्रतीयते; अतः एतादृशाः पौराणिकाः प्रयोगाः सावधानतया संरक्षणीयाः वैदिकवाङ्मयेन सह संयोजनीयाश्च । निबन्धकृता कतिचिदुदाहरणानि पुराणेभ्यः प्रस्तुतानि ।]

Purāṇas, in general, are ancient works written in Sanskrit language representing the transitional stage between Vedic and classical periods. As such their language is often found interspersed with the old survivals of the Vedic language, which have become obsolete in the later classical language. The editors of the Purāṇas, at times, have emended the original texts in the lights of the usages prescribed in the classical portion of the Pāṇinian grammar. Thus a lot of old material of linguistic interest is almost getting lost for ever. However, the materials at our disposal which have any how escaped the sight of editors, sufficiently indicate the antiquity of their language. As the major portion of the Purāṇas, with all their interpolations and later additions, conforms with the classical Sanskrit, it was quite natural for scholars to assign a late period of origin. But the fact that some portions, even in the extant versions of the Purāṇas, are much older cannot be gainsaid. Of course, they

had their origin in hoary antiquity[1] but in later times suffered so much from interpolations that they came to be regarded as pure classical compositions. Thus it is often alleged that the language of the Purāṇas does not, at places, follow the classical grammar and consists of a number of archaic forms. This allegation obviously presupposes the fact that Purāṇas are of pure classical origin as well as posterior to Pāṇini. In literary chronology, Purāṇas, as has often been done in old literature, must be placed immediately after the Vedic literature beside the epics[2] whose language is almost identical with that of the Purāṇas. Thus for a true and just estimate Purāṇic language must be judged in relation to its prior source the Vedic.

The above-referred archaic forms in the Purāṇas, are in the main, explained as being due to metrical exegency, that is, the particular metre of the composition did not permit the author to use the form current in the classical Sanskrit. Indeed there are passages in the Purāṇas which can be explained on no other ground than the metrical requirements but this must be applied within certain limits. But this explanation of metrical exegency does not at length appear to be genuine as the Purāṇic authors could well have opted another suitable metre or even prose form of expression which they have in many Purāṇas actually done. A close examination of the language and metre points out that only those usages should be accounted for metrical needs which consist in an irregular lengthening or shortening of vowels or insertion of a vowel-part (*svara-bhakti*) to fecilitate pronunciation, or a little more than that, which are at the same time required by the specific metre.[3]

1. cp. *Atharva Veda* XI. 7. 24, XV. 6. 11-2; *Purāṇavid* in XI. 8. 7; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI. 5.6.8, 5.7.9; XIII. 4. 3. 12-3; XIV. 6, 10. 6; Gopatha Brā. I. 1. 10. etc.
2. *Atharvaveda* XV. 6. 11-2; *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.10; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV. 6. 10. 6; along with *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VII. 1. 2, 1. 4, 2. 1 and Sūtras where 'Purāṇa' has always been mentioned beside the epics (Itihāsa).
3. *Saptādaśa* (For *saptadaśa*) in *Brahmāṇḍa* II. 21. 84; *Mahātmya* (for *māhātmya*) in *Skanda*. Māheśvara. 1. 30. 51 *tata etad akāraṣam* (for *akārṣam*), in *Bhāgavata* 1. 6. 5 *kim akārasīt tataḥ* (for *akārṣīt*) ibid. i. 10. 1, etc.

The rare forms of an old language like Sanskrit must not be dispensed with merely with the remark that they are irregular because they often prove to be of immense value and link the chain of linguistic evolution. The following treatment of some important linguistic peculiarities will show how far Purāṇas are indispensable to the history of linguistic development of Sanskrit. These are arranged here according to the grammatical categories:

The Declension:

In the Purāṇas masculine stems in *i* and *u* often insert an n before endings begining with vowels. This insertion before the endings of the Instrumental singular and Genitive plural has been most current in ancient times, which led Pāṇini to frame sūtras like *āṅo nā'striyām*[1] and *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*[2], the former substituting *nā* for the normal ending *ā*, to stems other than feminine and the latter prescribing an augment (insertion) of an n before genitive plural ending to the same stem. These two forms with inserted n have survived and come down to us in regular use. They do not strike our mind because we are much accustomed to them. But an attentive reader is naturally startled to note this insertion extended elsewhere also, i.e. in the accusative, dative, ablative, genitive and locative singular and nominative and genitive plural.

Thus the *accusative singular* form *marīcinam* (against regular *marīcim* as if it were *marīcīn-am* occurs twice in the Brahmāṇḍa and once in a parallel passage of the Kūrma[4].

In the *dative singular* occur *ardhendumauline* (against

1. Aṣṭādhyāyī VII. 3. 120.
2. Ibid. VII. 1. 54.
3. प्राणाद् दक्षोऽसृजद् वाचं चक्षुर्भ्यां च मरीचिनम् ।
I. 5. 74ab.
प्राणाद् दक्षं सृजन् ब्रह्मा चक्षुर्भ्यां तु मरीचिनम् ।
II. 9. 22cd.
4. प्राणाद् ब्रह्माऽसृजद् दक्षं चक्षुर्भ्यां च मरीचिनम् ।
I. 7. 36ab.

the regular *ardhendumaulaye*) in the Brahmāṇḍa,[1] *ghṛṇine* in the Kūrma[2] and *surabhiṇe* in the Skanda.[3] In the *ablative singular* is found *Kālaneminaḥ* in the Skanda[4]

In the *genitive singular* are found *salilayoninaḥ* (twice) and *avyaktayoninaḥ* in the Brahmāṇḍa,[5] *Kālaneminaḥ* (twice) and *śaśimaulinaḥ* in the Skanda[6] and *Candramaulinaḥ* in the Matsya.[7] The *genitive plural* form *ātmayoninām* and *mumūrṣuṇām* occur in the Brahmāṇḍa and *tridaśāriṇām* in the Matsya.[9] Lastly the *locative singular* form *bhānuni* is found in the Bhaviṣya.[10] The *nominative plural candrārdhamaulinaḥ* occurs in the Matsya (CLXXX. 21ab).

At first sight these forms appear quite abnormal to a classical student. But when we judge them along with their precursors in the earlier literature[11] the fact becomes evident that from the

1. नमस्त्रिपथगाफेनभासितार्धेन्दुमौलिने । III. 25. 11 ab
2. नमस्ते घृणिने तुभ्यं सूर्याय ब्रह्मरूपिणे । II. 18. 28 ab
3. शर्वाय क्षितिरूपाय सदा सुरभिणे नमः । II. 48. 23 cd
4. एवं वचस्तस्य निशम्य विष्णोः सर्वेश्वरस्याथ रथं निमेषात् ।
   निनाय दूरं किल कालनेमिनः भीतस्तदा सारथिर्लोकनाथात् । I. 2. 19. 82
5. भृगुश्च हृदयाज् जज्ञ ऋषिः सलिलयोनिनः । I. 5. 74 cd
   भृगुस्तु हृदयाज् जज्ञ ऋषिः सलियोनिनः । II. 9. 22 ab
   संकल्पाच् चैव संकल्पो जज्ञे सोऽव्यक्तयोनिनः । I. 5. 73 cd
6. मेषस्य द्वीपिभिर्भीमैः कुञ्जरैः कालनेमिनः । I. 2. 1 . 24 cd
   सा पपात शिरस्युग्रा सहसा कालनेमिनः । I. 2. 6. 78 ab
   देवी च प्रविवेशाथ भवनं शशिमौलिनः । I. 2. 29. 77 cd
7. आडिर्नामान्तरप्रेक्षी सततं चन्द्रमौलिनः । Matsya. CLV. 12 cd
8. ब्रह्मा यतात्मकानां तु सर्वेषामात्मयोनिनाम् । II. 9. 19 cd
   कूटकाकूटकाश्चैव उत्पद्यन्ते मुमूर्षुणाम् । II. 7. 37 cd
9. तेषां त्रिपुरयुक्तानां त्रिपुरे त्रिदशारिणाम् ।
   व्रजतिस्म सुखं कालः स्वर्गस्थानां यथा तथा ।। CXXXI. 11
10. तानि सर्वाणि सर्वज्ञे सर्वपातरि भानुनि ।
   दत्तानि तत्समुत्थोऽयं गन्धधूपात्मको गुणः ।। Brāhma. CXV. 14
11. cp. the solitary occurence of *cāruṇaḥ* in the Ṛgveda VIII. 5. 14 as well as that of *rajjuni* in the Atharva Veda XX. 133. 3.

earliest down to Purāṇa period masculine stems in *i* and *u* like neuter ones could freely insert *n* before endings beginning with vowels, beside the normal form prescribed in grammars. Pāṇini prescribes the aforesaid insertion to neuter[1] stems only, which frequently appears here also in case of the masculines.

Another remarkable point in Purāṇic declension, though of rare occurence, is that the nominative plural form of many stems appears in the accusative also. Thus, in the Mārkaṇḍeya[2] are found forms like *vibhūtayaḥ, paśavaḥ, avayaḥ* and *gāvaḥ*, etc. against the normal *vibhūtīḥ, paśūn, avīḥ* and *gāḥ*, respectively. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa[3] in a parallel passage, though partly emended, mentions *avayaḥ* for normal *avīḥ*. Similarly in the Brahmāṇḍa[4] in an identical context is found *gāvaḥ* used for regular *gāḥ*. The Bhāgavata[5] too in a quite different context uses *gāvah* in the accusative, The epics[6] also furnish similar usages.

This fact, though rare, is not absent in the earlier literature. Thus in the Ṛgveda occurs the nominative plural form *aryaḥ*[7] used as accusative. Similar instances to this effect are *vayaḥ*,[8] *citrotaryāḥ*, *āpaḥ* and in the Atharvaveda *śuçayaḥ*, etc.

Thus from a comparative study of the above it is clear that Purāṇas maintain the chain of early evolution of language in which the nominative and accusative plurals were used indistinctly.

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1. इकोऽचि विभक्तौ, Aṣṭādhyāyī VII. 1. 73
2. पश्यैता दुष्ट मय्येव विशन्त्यो मद्विभूतयः । XC. 4
   ततः स्वदेहतोऽन्यानि वयासि पशवोऽसृजत् ।
   मुखतोऽजाः ससर्जाथ वक्षसश्चावयोऽसृजत् ।
   गावश्चैवोदराद् ब्रह्मा पार्श्वाभ्यां च विनिर्ममे ।। XLVIII. 25
3. अवयो वक्षसश्चक्रे मुखतोऽजाः स सृष्टवान् । I 5. 48 cd
4. गावश्चैवोदराद् ब्रह्मा पार्श्वाभ्यां च विनिर्ममे । II. 8. 44 ab
5. तर्पयित्वाथ विप्रेभ्यो गावो बहुगुणा ददुः । III. 3 26 cd
6. वक्तुमर्हस्यशेषेण दिव्या ह्यात्मविभूतयः । Śrīmadbhagavadgītā X. 16ab
   हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि दिव्या ह्यात्मविभूतयः । ibid X. 19 ab
7. cf. Ṛgveda VII. 48. 3, etc. seven times.
8. Ṛgveda 1. 104. 3. ; Atharvaveda V. 1. 3.

Similarly Purāṇic declension is often seen observing no distinction between strong and weak stems. Normally in graded declension the first five endings upto the accusative[1] dual of masculines take the strong stem and the rest the weak. Purāṇas indistinctly use the weak stem with little modifications in other cases. Thus in the Bhaviṣya[2] we find *viduṣaiḥ* used for the normal *vidvadbhiḥ*. The Vāmana Purāṇa uses *senānye*[3] as a locative singular form, as if made from a stem in *a*. All these have their germs in the early language of the Vedas[4] where also the weak stem sometimes appears in strong cases.

The use of bare stem in the locative singular of words ending in *an* is a common factor of the Vedic language. This also appears here in the Purāṇas not infrequently. Thus the Bhāgavata[5] uses *atman* and *bhasman* as locatives against the normal *ātmani* and *bhasmani*.

The Verbal Inflexion :

Without going into subtle details it may be said that verbal inflexion in the Purāṇas exhibits considerable divergency in regard to voice (*upgraha*) and the class (*gaṇa*). There is much effacement of distinction between active (*parasmaipadam*) and middle voices (*ātmanepadam*). Instances to this effect recur in all the Purāṇas. Thus for example √vṛdh 'to grow', √ās 'to sit', etc. are roots inflected, as a rule, in the middle voice alone but in the Purāṇas[6] as well as in the epics their active inflexion is also met with.

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1. सुडनपुंसकस्य । Aṣṭādhyāyī I. 1 43.
2. प्रथमं भोजका भोज्याः पुराणविदुषैः सह । Brāhma LXX. 6. ab
3. सेनान्ये निहते तस्मिन् । XV. 22 a
4. Cp. अबिभ्युषः (Ṛgveda I. 11. 5) used for अबिभीवांसः, and चक्रुषम् (Ṛgveda X, 139. 1) for चकृवांसम्, with *vedaviduṣaḥ* (Bahma Purāṇa LVI. 18) used as nominative plural etc.
5. आत्मन् भावयसे तानि न पराभावयन् स्वयम् । II, 5. 5. ab
   भस्मन् हुतं कुहकराद्धमिवोत्तमूष्याम् । I. 15. 21 d
6. वर्धन्ति used in Brahmāṇḍa II. 19. 134.
   आसतः (the genitive singular of the present participle from the active base of √ās 'to sit' against the normal आसीनस्य) in Brahma CX. 14.

A similar divergency subjects the system of verbal classes also. In classical grammar each verb has been assigned to a definite class or number of classes whereas in the Purāṇas it observes no hard and fast rule.[1] Thus here a verb may belong to any number of classes.

The Verbal Augment :

The most conspicuous inflexional peculiarity in the Purāṇas lies in the treatment of verbal augment.[2] Like the earlier language of the Vedas[3] here also it is often dropped and the forms without augment are ueed in place of the augmented ones. Thus, for example *karot, vi-ni-vedayat, sam-ut-sārayan, pra-kalpayat, bravīt, kṛthāḥ, chādayan, pra-kupyata, pūjayat, vy-ava-dhāt,* etc. etc. occur in various Purāṇas[4] and express past sense. Sometimes such forms

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वदस्व, Bhāgavata III. 10. 2.

अवेक्षत: normally अवेक्षमाणस्य) in Bhāgavata III. 12. 51.

लभेत् (normally लभेत) in Bṛhannāradīya I. 17. 70, etc.

1. छेदि in Brahma LXIII. 8 occurs beside छिनदि the regular formation of the VII class.

   शोचिमि in Skanda Māh. II. 33. 8. beside the normal शोचामि

2. Prescribed by Pāṇini as लुङ् लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ; Aṣṭādhyāyī. VI. 471.

3. Cf. बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि, id. VI. 4. 75

4. सर्वाङ्गेभ्यो विनिःसृत्य वह्निस्ता भस्मसात् करोत्। Brahmāṇḍ II. 13. 61 cd

   सौभाग्यभोगममितं मुनिहोमधेनुः सद्यो विधाय विनिवेदयदाशु तस्मै ।
   ibid III. 27. 20

   ते समुत्सारयन् धेनोः सुदूरतरमन्तिकात् । ibid III. 29. 10

   पुनः सोऽथ प्रकल्पयत् । Vāyu I. 6. 32 d

   बालो दीनमना ब्रवीत् । Skanda Māh. II. 46. 15

   दिवास्वापं कृथामातः पादाक्रान्तशिरोरुहा ।

   सुप्ताथ सुचिरं वाते छिन्नो गर्भो मया तव ॥ ibid II. 14. 42

   भर्तृयज्ञं पुनः प्राप्य ते च तत्र स्थिता भवन् । id. II. 13. 109 cd

   नीहारास्छादयन् दिशः । id II. 15. 27

   पुंसः संयोगमैच्छत् सा तदभावात् प्रकुप्यत । id. II. 46. 55

   पूजयन्नारदमुनिं युक्तः कृष्णो महामनाः । id. II. 54. 17

   न ह्येष व्यवधात् काल एष सर्वनिराकृतिः । Bhāgavata I. 6. 4

   घण्टास्वनेन तान्नादानम्बिका चोपबृंहयत् । Mārkaṇḍeya LXXXVIII. 8

appear formally as an injunctive[1] also. Use of unaugmented forms are much common in the Vedic language.

Gerunds :

Regarding the use of gerunds Purāṇas show some deviation. Against the general rule[2] that simple roots take *-tvā* in forming gerund whereas the prefixed ones add *-ya* in stead, the Purāṇas frequently use *tvā* to the prefixed and *-ya* to the simple ones,[3] Pāṇini[4] has noted this fact in regard to the *Chandas* or the Vedic language.

Infinitives :

Beside the single surviving form of the accusative infinitive in *-tum* the Bhāgavata Purāṇa twice uses dative infinitive form *pratihartave*[5] (for normal *pratihartum*) and *hantave*[6] (for *hantum*).

Particles :

Of the particles the Skanda Purāṇa frequently uses *asmi*[1] and a few times *asi*,[2] the former being equal to the pronoun of the first person and the latter to that of the second one. This usage is quite rare in the later literature.

Taking into cognizance the linguistic material treated above, the antiquity of the Purāṇic language is amply evident.

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1. इमां गाथां शृणोद् यो वै श्रद्धाभक्तिसमन्वितः ।
   यत्पुरीगमने पुण्यं फलं तच्छीघ्रमाप्नुयात् ॥ Bhaviṣya Prati. IV. 21.43
2. समासेऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वो ल्यप्, Aṣṭādhyāyī VII. 1. 37
3. विबुद्ध्वा in Brahma VII. 3. 26. आपूरयित्वा in Vāyu I. 4. 30, etc. etc गृह्य in Brahmāṇḍa II. 22. 12, Matsya II. 10, CXXXIII. 57 ; पूज्य in Vāmana II. 37, etc.
4. क्त्वापि च्छन्दसि, Aṣṭādhyāyī VII. 1. 38
5. सर्वे नियुक्ताः स्वविहारतन्त्रं न शक्नुमस्तत् प्रतिहर्तवे ते । III. 5. 47 cd
6. वधाप्रवृत्तं तं भूयो हन्तवेऽत्रिरचोदयत् । IV. 19. 15 ab
7. विचराम्यस्मि (= विचराम्यहम् ond so on) II. 5. 21, स्मराम्यस्मि II. 7. 41 प्रयच्छाम्यस्मि II 7. 57, अस्मि...पूजयामि II. 8. 26, प्रार्थयाम्यस्मि II. 27. 56 अस्मि वसामि II. 32. 165, द्रक्ष्याम्यस्मि II. 34. 76, ग्रहीष्याम्यस्मि II. 40. 9, यजाम्यस्मि II. 42. 178, अस्मि...अभवम् II. 46. 129, etc.
8. पिबस्यसि (= पिबसि त्वम्) II. 40. 88.

THE DEVĪ-BHĀGAVATA AS THE REAL BHĀGAVATA*

By

NIRMAL CHANDRA SANYAL

[देवीभागवत-श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणयोः महापुराणत्वविषये प्राचीनकालतः एव विवादः विसंवादश्च प्रचलति। वैष्णवाना मते श्रीमद्भागवतमेव महापुराणम् शाक्ताना च मते देवीभागवतं महापुराणम्। श्रीधरस्वामी, मध्वाचार्यः रामानुजाचार्यश्च श्रीमद्भागवतं प्रमाणत्वेन अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। शैवनीलकण्ठो नामक आचार्यः देवीभागवतं महापुराणत्वेनाङ्गीकरोति। डा० हाजराप्रभृतयः केचन आधुनिकविद्वांसोऽपि विष्णुभागवतमेव महापुराणमामनन्ति। अस्मिन् लेखे विदुषा लेखकेन नानामतानां समीक्षणं कृत्वा देवीभागवतपुराणस्य महापुराणत्वं प्रतिपादयितुं प्रयत्नः कृतः। मत्स्यपुराणे तु भागवतस्य लक्षणमस्ति—यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं वर्ण्यते धर्मविस्तरः। वृत्रासुरवधोपेतं तद्भागवतमुच्यते॥ श्रीधरस्वामिना पुराणान्तरात् भागवतस्य उद्धृतं लक्षणमित्थं वर्त्तते—"हयग्रीवब्रह्मविद्या यत्र वृत्रवधस्तथा। गायत्र्या वै समारम्भस्तद् वै भागवतं विदुः॥" लेखकमहोदयस्य मतानुसारेण इमानि लक्षणानि पूर्णतः देवीभागवते एव संगतानि न तु श्रीमद्भागवते अतः देवीभागवतमेव अष्टादशमहापुराणेषु परिगणित महापुराणम्। कालान्तरे वैष्णवैः वैष्णवशासकैश्च कृताद् देवीभागवतस्य वहिष्कार हेतोः देवीभागवतस्य प्रचलनं लुप्तं जातम्। अनेनैव हेतुना निबन्धग्रन्थेषु स्मृति टीकासु च देवीभागवतस्योद्धरणानि नोपलभ्यन्ते।]

The controversy as to which of the two Bhāgavatas, viz. the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* (better known as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*) is a Mahāpurāṇa has been continuing for some centuries past. We get the earliest hint about it in the commentary on the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* written by Śrī-Dharasvāmin (circa 1350-1450 A. D.). According to this commentator the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* has got all the characteristics of the Bhāgavata (Mahāpurāṇa) described in *Matsyapurāṇa* and the *Purāṇāntara*, (i. e., the other Purāṇa). Then Narasiṁha Vājapeyin whom Dr. Kane has placed after 1400 A. D. has shown in his *Nityāchārapradīpa*,

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some reasons for dismissing the views of those who connect the Bhāgavata with Bhagavatī.

Probably next comes the *Bhāgavata-Vishaya-Svarūpa-Śaṅkā-Nirāsa-Trayodaśa* of Purushottama Tīrtha, who, according to some Scholars, lived in the middle part of the 15 century. In it the writer has furnished thirteen grounds for accepting the Vishṇu Bhāgavata as the true Bhāgavata.

In the 16th century Jīva Gosvāmin produced his *Shaṭa-sandarbha* (Six Essays). In its first essay, named the *Tattvasandarbha*, he tried to prove the superiority of the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata over all other Purāṇas and its existence in the days of Śaṅkarāchārya.

Early in the next century Mitra Miśra wrote the *Vīramitrodaya*, in which he supported the claim of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* and dismissed the claim of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* which he mentioned by the name *Purāṇāntara*.

After about fifty years Bhānuji Dīkshita alias Rāmāśrama, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita, the celebrated grammarian of Vārāṇasī, wrote a pamphlet named the *Durjanamukhachapeṭikā* in which he denounced the Śāktas for their disregard of the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata and tried to prove that work to be a Mahāpurāṇa composed by Vyāsa.

His views were first attacked by Kāsīnātha Bhaṭṭa, a Śākta paṇḍita of Vārāṇasī in another pamphlet named the *Durjanamukha-mahāchapeṭikā* and then by an anonymous disputant in a third pamphlet named the *Durjanamukhapadmapādukā*. Both these pamphlets declared in favour of the Devī-Bhāgavata.

The *Siddhāntadarpaṇa* of Baladeva Vidyābhūshaṇa, a Vaishṇava Scholar belonging to Chaitanya's sect and a contemporary of Maharaja Jaisingh II of Amber (1699-1725) probably comes next. It is a small metrical composition of fifty-one verses divided into seven *prabhās* of which the third, fourth, fifth and sixth *prabhās* have tried to establish the claim of the Vishṇu Bhāgavata (for being regarded as a Mahapurāṇa).

Then comes the *Varivasyārahasya,* with commentary, from the pen of Bhāskara Rāya, the well-known Śākta scholar of Southern India, who flourished in the earlier half of the 18th century. This writer has mentioned the Devī-Bhāgavata by the name Bhāgavata in his original work and has justified his action in its commentary by furnishing a few arguments.

After this, we get the *Devī-Bhāgavata-Sthiti* of Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha, which, after being revised by him, has been incorporated in his commentary on the *Devī-Bhāgavata,* as a preface. This writer states with a spirit of toleration, rare in his days, that some authorities support the claim of the *Devī-Bhāgavata,* while other authorities support the claim of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* and that the claim of both of them ought therefore to be admitted.

Last among the writings on this subject, which appeared in the mediaeval age, is perhaps another *Devī-Bhāgavata-Sthiti* written by Vidyātīrtha. In it the writer has taken exception to the compromising attitude of Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha, and has tried to prove the statements of authorities who have declared in favour of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* to be of late dates.

Again, some of the eminent Indologists of modern Europe and India have considered the question; and their opinions are also divided. Thus Colebrooke (Miscellaneous Essays, Vol. I, p. 104) Burnouf (Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Preface pp. LXIIff.) and Wilson (Vishṇu-Purāṇa, Preface pp. XLIV-LI) have given their verdicts in favour of the Devī-Bhāgavata while Macdonnell in his History of Sanskrit Literature has taken no notice of it and Winternitz in his History of Indian Literature Vol. I, pp. 554-556 has mentioned the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* among the Mahāpurāṇas and has only taken a passing notice of its rival. Among Indian scholars, Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra has declared in favour of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* in the catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, pp. 193-194 ; while M. M. Ganganath Jha and Prof. Śrikantha Śastri in their articles published in the M. M. Kuppuswami Śastri commemoration Volume, pp. 1-2 and the ABORI, 1932-33, pp. 241-249 respectively

have declared in favour of the *Devī-Bhāgavata.* Then, in his articles published in the New Indian Antiquary, 1938-39 pp. 522-528 and the Journal of Oriental Research, 1953 pp. 49-79, respectively and in his book "Studies in the Purāṇic Records on the Hindu Rites and Customs," pp. 52-57, Dr. R. C. Hazra has discussed the whole question at length and supported the claim of the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata.

Though the problem created by the rivalry between the two Bhāgavatas has thus been under the consideration of the scholars for a pretty long time, yet uptill now certain points connected with it has not been considered at all while certain other points have not been considered fully.

Due consideration of these points has led us to support the claim of Devī-Bhāgavata. But one point we wish to explain at the outset. The Vishṇu-purāṇa says that the epithet Bhagavān belongs to Vāsudeva (Krishṇa) and to no other person.[1] Also, the word 'Bhāgavata' has been used in good many literary works and epigraphical records of the mediaeval age as an appellation of the worshippers of Vishṇu-Krishṇa This has created an impression in the minds of some modern scholars that the name Bhāgavatapurāṇa is correctly applicable to the Vishṇu Bhāgavata which describes the exploits of that deity and that the derivation of the word Bhāgavata as '*Bhagavatyā idam*' is an invention made by Śāktas after the Purāṇic age. But we have come across two instances in the Purāṇic literature of the use of the word Bhāgavata as an appellation of the worshippers of Bhagavatī also. In chapter 13 of the first book of his *Chaturvargachintāmaṇī*, Hemādri quotes a passage from the Bhavishyapurāṇa, which furnishes details of the Ubhayanavamī Vrata, a Vrata (vow) meant for propitiating Devī or Bhagavatī. According to this passage the vow should last for one year and should consist, among other rites, of worship of Devī with certain special articles at the end of each month, which is to be followed by feeding of eight virgins and eight Bhāgavata

1. एवमेष महाञ्छब्दो मैत्रेय भगवानिति ।
परमब्रह्मभूतस्य वासुदेवस्य नान्यगः ॥ (VI. 5. 76)

Brāhmaṇas.[2] Just after quoting the passage Hemādri comments that the word Bhāgavata means (here) devoted to Bhagavatī.[3] Then we find that the original *Kālikāpurāṇa*, which was written for glorifying Devī (or Bhagavatī), calls itself *Bhāgavatasya mauleyam* or fit for being kept on the head of a Bhāgavata. No doubt this phrase should be interpreted as fit for being kept on head of one devoted to Bhagavatī thus the derivation of the word Bhāgavata as 'Bhagavatyā idam' had at least some adherents even in the Purāṇic age.

Let us first examine the two verses which Śrīdharasvāmin has quoted from the *Matsyapurāṇa* and Purāṇāntara for supporting the claim of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata.*

The *Matsyapurāṇa* verse states that the book in which the Dharma has been described in detail in the course of discussion about the Gāyatrī and which contains the story relating to the death of the Asura Vṛitra, is the Bhāgavata (Mahāpurāṇa).[4] Of the contents of the *Bhāgavata,* mentioned in this verse, the story relating to the death of the Asura Vṛitra is found in the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* as well as in the *Devī-Bhāgavata.* So it is not the distinguishing characteristic of either of them. The Dharma has also been described in detail in the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* as well as in the *Devī-Bhāgavata.* But in the former it has no connection with the Gāyatrī, whereas, Skandhas XI and XII of the Devī-Bhāgavata are devoted to the exposition of the Gāyatrī and the Dharma. So the verse in question has mentioned the *Devī-Bhāgavata* as the *Bhāgavata.*

In order to prove that the above verse has mentioned the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* as the *Bhāgavata* (Mahāpurāṇa) Śrīdharasvāmin has first tried to establish the identity of the opening verse of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* with the Gāyatrī by assuming :—

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2. मासान्ते स्नपनं कृत्वा भवान्यै च घृतादिभि. ।
कृत्वा ध्यानं महापूजां चण्डिकायै प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
नैवेद्यं तण्डुलप्रस्थं क्षीरसिद्धं निवेदयेत् ।
कुमारीर्भोजयेच्चाष्टौ विप्रान् भागवतास्तथा ॥

3 भागवतान् भगवतीभक्तान् ।

4. यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं वर्ण्यते धर्मविस्तरः । वृत्रासुरवधोपेतं तद् भागवतमुच्यते ॥

(1) That the revelation of the Vedas to Brahmā by the Supreme Being, mentioned in one of the lines of that verse, being tantamount to the supply of intellect (to all beings) by Divine Light, mentioned in the Gāyatrī, the sense of that verse is the same as the sense of the Gāyatrī.

(2) That the word *dhīmahi* being present in that verse as well as in the Gāyatrī, the language of that verse is the same as the language of the Gāyatrī.

This interpretation of the clause which refers to the revelation of the Vedas to Brahmā as having the same sense as the Gāyatrī, which refers to the supply of intellect to us (i. e., all living beings) is too far-fetched to be accepted by an impartial reader.

One point deserves special notice here. Just below the verse of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, discussed above, we get another verse which tells us that the *Bhāgavata* deals with the accounts of men and gods who lived in the Sārasvata Kalpa.[5]

In the *Devī-Bhāgavata* VI. 31 Vyāsa is represented as saying that he wrote it in the Sārasvata Kalpa, whereas in the *Vishṇu-bhāgavata* (II. 8) we find that it was recited to Brahmā by Vishṇu in the Brāhma Kalpa.[6] Some of the subsequent commentators of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* have tried to support the remark of Śrīdhara-svāmin by arguments, which have got as little logic in them as that remark. Thus Vallabhāchārya has stated that the Gāyatrī and the opening verse of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* have got the same

5. सारस्वतस्य कल्पस्य मध्ये ये स्युर्नरामराः ।
तत् वृत्तान्तोद्भवं लोके तद्भागवतमिष्यते ।।

6. In the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata (II. 10) Śuka is however represented as concluding the prefatory remarks and beginning the main topic of the book with a request to Parīkshit for hearing the Padmakalpa. Thus there is a discrepancy between the statements of chapters 8 and 19 of Skandha II of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*. Jīva Gosvāmin has tried in his Tattvasandarbha to connect the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* with the Sārasvata Kalpa. But for this he has reported to far-fetched interpretation and has kept silent about the statements reads in the above two chapters.

meaning; and in order to prove this, he has attributed such meanings to certain words as are not found in the Sanskrit lexicons. Jīva Gosvāmin has stated that the Gāyatrī being the genesis of all the mantras, ought not to be put in writing in full and that the word dhīmahi ought therefore to be taken as its representative. But we are not aware of any Śāstric injunction to this effect. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī has stated that the use of the Vedic word *dhīmahi* instead of *dhyāyema* in the opening verse of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* proves it to be a Gāyatrī. But a careful scrutiny of that work will bring out scores of instances of its use of Vedic words. (II. 7; VIII. 1 and 23 etc.)

The verse quoted by Śrīdharasvāmin from Purāṇāntara[7] tells us that the book which contains the stories relating to the Hayagrīva Brahmavidyā and the death of Vṛitra and which begins with the Gāyatrī is the *Bhāgavata*.[8] Of the contents of the *Bhāgavata* mentioned here, the second is not helpful to us, for reasons already stated. As regards the first Jīva Gosvāmin reserves that the Nārāyaṇavarma, which is composed of verses no. 12 to 34 of chapter 8 of Skandha VI of the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata has, on account of its having been communicated to Tvashṭṛi by the horse-headed rishi Dadhīchi, been called Hayagrīva-Brahmavidyā.

Now, the verse, which mentions the Hayāgrīva Brahmavidyā as one of the contents of the Bhāgavata, evidently wants to describe the Bhāgavata in a few words and thus mentions some of its stories which are comparatively important. So, if we accept the interpretation of Jīva Gosvāmin, then we must assume that the Nārāyaṇa-varma which consists of only twentythree verses included in the chapter mentioned above, is more important than the chapters of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* which describe the lives of Jaḍa-Bharata, Dhruva, and Prahlāda and the exploits of Krishṇa and that this has led the mention of the former and omission of

7. We are unable to say which Purāṇa has been meant by the word Purāṇāntara. According to Vijayadhvaja it is the Skandapurāṇa and according to Vīra-Rāghava it is the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Skanda-purāṇa

8. हयग्रीवब्रह्मविद्या तत्र वृत्रवधस्तथा। गायत्र्या च समारम्भस्तद् वै भागवतं विदुः।।

the latter in that verse. But will not this assumption go against the rules of proportion and propriety? Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa has rightly observed :—

Why have the Purāṇas mentioned the stories relating to the death of Vṛitrāsura etc. as characteristics of the *Vaishṇava Bhāgavata* and have left out the life of Krishṇa which has been described in detail in that work ?[9]

Then another point arises. The Nārāyaṇavarma has been mentioned by the name Nārāyaṇaparaṃ Varma in one place of the above chapter and by the name varma Nārāyaṇātmakam in another. Any of these names could be conveniently used in place of its obscure synonym Hayagrīva-Brahmavidyā. Why was then neither of them used in the verse in question and why was that obscure synonym used instead? Until and unless these two points are satisfactorily explained it is not possible for an impartial reader to accept the interpretation of Jīva Gosvāmin.

But there is explicit reference to the story relating to the Hayagrīva Brahmavidyā in the Devī-Bhāgavata (I. 5) and in this study Devī has been twice mentioned by the name Brahmavidyā thus by mentioning the Hayagrīva Brahmavidyā as one of the contents of the Bhāgavata, the verse of the Purāṇāntara implies that the *Bhāgavata* is identical with the *Devī Bhāgavata.*

In interpreting the clause according to which the Bhāgavata begins with the Gāyatrī, Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa states that as the opening verse of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is composed in Gāyatrī metre and the words dhīmahi and prachodayāt which occur in the Gāyatrī occur in it also, the above clauses refers to it alone.[10]

Indeed the metre and the wording of this verse and the substance of its third charaṇa are such as would remind anyone of the Gāyatrī as soon as he would read it. So, it may be given

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9. वैष्णवभागवते अतिविस्तृते कृष्णचरिते घटिते सति तत् त्यक्त्वा वृत्रासुरवधादि लक्षणघटकत्वं कुतः पुराणे लिखितम् ?

10. The opening verse of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is :—

सर्वचैतन्यरूपां तामाद्यां विद्यां च धीमहि । बुद्धिं या नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

the name of 'Gāyatrī' with some justification; and the statement of Kaśīnātha Bhaṭṭa may be taken as correct.

Inapplicability to the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* of the clause which states that the *Bhāgavata* begins with the Gāyatrī has already been explained by what we have said about Śrīdharasvāmin's interpretation of the verse of the *Matsyapurāṇa*. It may now be pointed out that the opening verse of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* begins with the word Janmādyasya Yataḥ (जन्माद्यस्य यत:) which forms the second sūtra of the Vedānta. So, if the author of the Purāṇāntara regarded the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* as the *Bhāgavata* (Mahāpurāṇa) then it would have naturally struck him that the above clause could be substituted with greater propriety by another clause describing the beginning of the *Bhāgavata* with a sūtra of the Vedānta.

It is necessary now to find out the dates of composition of these verses. The first verse appears in a list of Purāṇas (Mahāpurāṇas) and Upapurāṇas, which we find in chapter 53 of the Matsyapurāṇa. Then it appears again in similar lists found in the *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*. Now it has been shown already that this list of the *Matsyapurāṇa* seems to mention the *Devī-Bhāgavata* among the Mahāpurāṇas. So, it ought to have mentioned the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* among the Upapurāṇas. But it has not done so. In fact, it is silent about the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata. We presume therefore that it was composed some years before the composition of the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata or some years after its composition but before its admission to the rank of the Purāṇas.

Nothing can be said definitely about the date of composition of the verse quoted from the Purāṇāntara, so long as this work is not discovered. Only with reference to the period to which Śrīdharasvāmin belonged, we can presume that it was composed by the closing years of the Hindu rule.

Then we get two verses in the two lists of Purāṇic works furnished by the *Saura Purāṇa* and the *Revākhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*. These verses tell us that the Bhāgavata is devided into

two parts.[11] As the *Devī Bhāgavata* is divided in two halves, each consisting of six Skandhas, no doubt the above verses refer to it and not to the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata, which is not so divided.

Now, in his Dānasāgara, Ballālasena, the King of Bengal (circa 1101-1120) has mentioned the Revākhaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purāṇa* among Purāṇic works composed by men of his own time. So, with reference to the date of his accession, we may perhaps fix 1050 A. D. as the date of composition of the *Revākhaṇḍa* (and its list). And the *Revākhaṇḍa* has mentioned the *Saurapurāṇa* among Upapurāṇas. So the *Saura Purāṇa* (and its list) may be dated still earlier.

Next evidence is furnished by a passage quoted from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* by Hemādri in the second book of his *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*. According to it the *Bhāgavata* is the source of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*.[12] And as the *Kālikāpurāṇa* is a Śākta Upapurāṇa, evidently it mentions Śākta Bhāgavata i. e., the *Devī-Bhāgavata* has been mentioned under the name 'Bhāgavata' as presumed by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha.

Date of composition of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (to which the above verses belong) has not yet been fixed. But as Nānyadeva, Lakshmīdhara and Ballālasena, have drawn upon it, surely it existed in the 11th. century.

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11. ततो भागवतं प्रोक्तं भागद्वयविभूषितम् । (Saurapurāṇa 9-8)

× × ×

नवमं भगवन्नाम भागद्वयविभूषितम् ॥ (Revākhaṇḍa 1-37)

× × ×

12. शैवं यद्वायुना प्रोक्तं वैरिञ्चं वैष्णवं तथा ।
यदिदं कालिकाख्यं तन्मूलं भागवतं स्मृतम् ॥
सौरञ्च नारदीयञ्च मार्कण्डेयञ्च वह्निजम् ।
वामनं कौर्मं मात्स्यञ्च सप्तदशं च गारुडम् ॥
ब्रह्माण्डमष्टादशं ज्ञेयं पुराणानां न संशयः ॥

This passage is neither found in the recently discovered manuscripts of the original *Kālikāpurāṇa* nor in the printed editions of the extant *Kālikāpurāṇa*. There is reason however, for suspecting that several passages of the manuscript of the original *Kālikāpurāṇa* are missing. Possibly this passage is to be grouped with them.

Besides these, Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha has quoted two verses in his *Devī-Bhāgavata-Sthiti*. Of the two verses, one belongs according to him,, to the *Śivapurāṇa*, and is found in the Uttarakhaṇḍa (23.92) of that Purāṇa. It states that the book in which the exploits of Bhagavatī Durgā have been described is called the *Bhāgavata* but that it is not to be identified with the *Devī-Purāṇa*.[13] The other belongs according to him to the *Devī-Yāmala Tantra*. It states that the Purāṇa named *Śrīmadbhāgavata* was narrated to the son of Parīkshit by Vyāsa, the son of Satyavatī and that the deeds of the incarnations [of Devī] have been described in it in details.[14]

Both these verses certify the *Devī-Bhāgavata* to be the *Bhāgavata* (*Mahāpurāṇa*). Of these, the verse of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the *Śivapurāṇa* tells us that the *Bhāgavata* is not identical with the Devīpurāṇa.

As regards the verse of the *Devī-Yāmala Tantra*, we regret to say that this Tantra has not yet been discovered. Aufrecht has mentioned it in his catalogorum (pt 1) p. 262 from a statement of Kshemarāja. As it has drawn upon by Kshemarāja, as well as by his Guru Abhinavagupta, surely it existed in the 10th century. But so long as it is not discovered and genuineness of the verse quoted from it by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha is not proved, nothing can be said about the value of the verse.

The claim of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* for being regarded as a Mahāpurāṇa has been supported by the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* in chapter 96 of its Pūrvabhāga (by way of describing the contents of the Śrīmadbhāgavata which agree with those of the Vishṇu Bhāgavata) and by the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa* in its seven chapters i.e. chapter 193 to 198 and 236 of Calcutta (Vangabasi), edition

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13. भगवत्याश्च दुर्गायाश्चरितं यत्र वर्ण्यते ।
तत्तु भागवतं प्रोक्तं न तु देवीपुराणकम् ॥

Śaiva Nilakanth has interpreted it in a different way. As his interpretation is somewhat farfetched, we are unable to accept it.

14. श्रीमद् भागवतं नाम पुराणं ब्रह्मसम्मितम् ।
पारीक्षितायोपदिष्टं सत्यवत्यंगजन्मना ॥
यत्र देव्यवतारश्च बहवः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

chapters 189 to 194 and 263 of Poona (Anandasrama) edition. Besides these, the *Vishṇukhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* has stated in its certain chapters that the *Bhāgavata* has been described by Śuka and that Krishṇa has been glorified in it.

As regards the certificate given by the Nāradīyapurāṇa, we give below the substance of a passage which we have got in the *Devī-Bhāgavata-Sthiti* of Vidyātīrtha :—

Of course, the contents of the eighteen Purāṇas are found in the manuscripts of the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* written in modern times. Contents of the Bhāgavata found therein are applicable to the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*. In (some) other Purāṇas also the contents of the *Bhāgavata* are found (and they are applicable to the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*). But they do not prove the authenticity of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*. As similar compositions are not found in the old works, they have been composed by rogues (in modern times). It is for this reason that Śrīdharasvāmin, who was determined to oust the *Devī-Bhāgavata* took the help of weak evidences and not of such strong ones. Also, if those contents were composed by Vyāsa then in the contents of the Kūrmapurāṇa and of some of the other Purāṇas, their last portions would have been mentioned in addition to their available portions.[15]

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15. ननु नारदपुराणेऽष्टादशपुराणानां पृथक् पृथक् सूचिराधुनिकपुस्तकेषूपलभ्यते । तत्र भागवतसूचिरित्थमभिहिता ।

तत्र तु प्रथमे स्कन्धे सूतर्षीणां समागमः । व्यासस्य चरितं पुण्यं पाण्डवानां तथैव च । पारीक्षितमुपाख्यानमितीदं समुदाहृतमित्यादिना द्वादशस्कन्धानां सूचिरभिहिता । तथा भागवतमाहात्म्यद्वयेऽपि विष्णुभागवतमेव प्रतिपादितम् । तथान्यपुराणेष्वपि भागवतप्रतिपादकवचनानि उपलभ्यन्ते । तैर्वचनैर्भागवतस्य प्रामाण्यमायास्यतीति चेन्न । तेषां सर्वेषां प्राचीनपुस्तकेष्वभावेन धूर्तैः कल्पितत्वेन प्रामाण्याभावात् । अतएव श्रीधरस्वामिभिर्भागवतनामान्यदित्यपि नाशंकनीयमिति वाक्येनैव देवीभागतखण्डने बद्धपरिकरैः दृढतरप्रमाणभूते तादृशवचनानुपलम्भात् प्रमाणाभासवचनेनैव प्रामाण्यमुपपादितम् । किं च यदि सा सूचिर्व्यासकृतैव स्यात्तर्हि यथा भागवतस्य सर्वपुराणसूचिः कृता । तथा कूर्मपुराणानां सम्प्रत्युच्छिन्नांशानां यत्किञ्चिदंशो न वर्तमानानामपि सर्वांश सूचिं कुर्यात् न च तथास्ति किन्तु यावानंशो सम्प्रत्युपलभ्यते यस्य यस्य पुराणस्य तस्य तस्यैव दृश्यते तस्मात् कल्पितेति निश्चितं भागवतमाहात्म्यद्वयमप्यप्रमाणं अष्टादशपुराणमध्ये कस्याप्यन्यपुराणस्य सर्वपुराणोत्तमस्य भारतस्य वा महात्म्यादर्शनात् ।

The statement made in this passage, is quite correct. To illustrate its correctness, we would add here that according to chapter 53 of the *Matsyapurāṇa*, which we have proved to be fairly old, the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* describes the exploits of the Boar Incarnation of Brahmā ; whereas chapter 95 of the Pūrvabhāga of the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* which describss the contents of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* is silent about the Boar Incarnation of that deity and states in its stead that the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* is divided into the *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, *Prakritikhaṇḍa Gaṇeśakhaṇḍa and Krisṇakhaṇḍa.* This statement is applicable to the extant Brahmavaivartapurāṇa, including the *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa* was composed in the Muslim period. We may assume therefore that all the chapters of Pūrvabhāga of the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* which describe the content of the Mahāpurāṇas (including chapter 96 already referred to) were written in a very late date did not see the original *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.* Also, as implied by Vidyātīrtha, they were probably composed after the death of Srīdharasvāmin.

Of the seven chapters of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of the Padmapurāṇa it can be remarked that Dr. Asoke Chatterjee has proved (see his book Padmapurāṇa —A study pp. 80ff.) that these chapters belong to a very late period. Thus these are of little value.

The *Vishṇukhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* has described in chapter 21 of the *Venkatāchalamāhātmya* included in it, the presence of Rāmānuja at Tirupati. So we may assume that it was written at least one hundred years after the death of that Saint which took place after 1125 A. D. when he was regarded as a man of the remote past.

Another support to the claim of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* comes from two verses found in the Bhāgavata-tātparya of Madhvāchārya. They certify that the book named the Śrīmadbhāgavata is a commentary on the Vedānta, Mahābhārata and Gāyatrī, has got the sense of the Vedas in it and ocupies among the Purāṇas the

position which the Sāmaveda occupies among the Vedas.[16]

These verses, although stated by Madhvāchārya to have been quoted from the Garuḍapurāṇa, are not traceable in any of the printed editions of that Purāṇa. Moreover, Jīva Gosvāmin has quoted them in one place of his Tattvasandarbha and has remarked a little later that in order to prove the correctness of his interpretation, he has quoted certain passages from the Vedic and Purāṇic works seen by him: but that in some cases he has quoted passages which belong to works not seen by him but which appear in the Bhāgavata-tātparya, Bhārata-tātparya and commentary on the Brahmasūtras, written by Madhāvāchārya. Then, we learn from another remark made by him that some portions of the *Garuḍapurāṇa* were not available in his days.[17]

From this frank confession of Jīva Gosvāmin we are led to conclude that he could not find the above verses in the manuscript of the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, which he consulted. Thus it can be safely presumed that these verses were composed by some unknown Vaishṇava after the death of Śrīdharasvāmin, and ascribed to the *Garuḍapurāṇa*. But it is perhaps more correct to presume that they were composed by Madhvāchārya in the course of his composition of the Bhāgavata-tātparya (and ascribed to the *Garuḍapurāṇa* Hari Dīkshita in his Brahmasūtra-vritti and Appaya Dīkshita in his Madhvamata-vidhvamsana have brought out several cases of such statement made by Madhvāchārya and Prof. A. Venkatasubbiah in his article on the Māṇḍūkyopanishad and Gauḍapāda

16. अर्थोऽयं ब्रह्मसूत्राणां भारतार्थविनिर्णयः ।
गायत्रीभाष्यरूपोऽसौ वेदार्थपरिबृंहितः ।।
पुराणानां सामरूपः साक्षात् भगवतोदितः ।
द्वादशस्कन्धसंयुक्तः शतविच्छेदसंयुतः ।।
ग्रन्थोऽष्टादशसाहस्रः श्रीमद्भागवताभिधः ।।

17. अत्र च स्वदर्शितार्थविशेषप्रामाण्यायैव, न तु श्रीमद्भागवतवाक्यप्रामाण्याय प्रमाणानि श्रुतिपुराणादिवचनानि यथा दृष्टमेवोदाहरणीयानि । क्वचित् स्वयमदृष्टाकराणि × × × श्रीमध्वाचार्यचरणानां भागवततात्पर्य-भारततात्पर्य-ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्येभ्यः संगृहीतानि × × × पुराणञ्च गारुडादीनां सर्वत्राप्रचरद्रूपमंशादिकम् × × × ।

published in the Indian Antiquary : 1933 (pp. 181-193) has added to their number.

As regards the silence of Śrīdharasvāmin about these two verses, we would point out that the period which intervened between the career of Madhvāchārya and the career of Śrīdharasvāmin was very short. So it is possible that these verses did not reach the latter.

Next we get a verse in the commentary of Śrīdharasvāmin, which states that the *Bhāgavata* has been described by Śuka. No doubt this verse implies that the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* is the Bhāgavata (Mahāpurāṇa). However, according to Srīdharasvāmin it belongs to a dialogue between Gautama ond Ambarīsha, included in the Padmapurāṇa. But neither it nor the dialogue to which it belongs is found in the printed editions as well as in the principal manuscripts of that Purāṇa (see Dr. Asoke chatterjee Padmapurāṇa—A study in this connection). So its value is open to questions.

Then Jīva Gosvāmin has quoted three verses in the Tattvasandarbha in addition to the one quoted by Śrīdharasvāmin and discussed above. Two of these connect the Bhāgavata with Hari or Vishṇu and the third states that the Bhāgavata has been described by Śuka. According to Jīva Gosvāmin, the first verse belongs to a dialogue between Gautama and Ambarīsha, the second to the Vanjulimāhātmya and the third to the Prahlādasaṁhitā. The dialogue between Gautama and Ambarīsha, to which the first verse is stated to belong, is probably the same as the dialogue to which the verse quoted by Śrīdharasvāmin belongs. So its value is open to questions for reason already stated. The Vanjulimāhātmya and the Prahlādasaṁhitā have not yet been discovered. So the value of the second and the third verse cannot be finally described. Most of the pamphlets on Māhātmyas are however admittedly works of late date ; so we will not perhaps be wrong if we group the Vanjulimāhātmya with them. The Prahlāda saṁhitā has, as far as we knew, been drawn upon only by Sanātana Gosvāmin in his Bhaktirasāmṛitasindhu and by his nephew Jīva Gosvāmin in his Tattvasandarbha. So, with reference

to the dates of Sanātana and Jīva Gosvāmin, we may perhaps assign this work to the latter half of the 13th century.

In short, we may say that majority of the verses and passages, which certify the *Devī-Bhāgavata* to be a Mahāpurāṇa, belongs to the early mediaeval age, whereas majority of the verses or passages, which certify the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* to be a Mahāpurāṇa, belongs to the late mediaeval age and the rest though of indifinite date cannot reasonably be regarded as older than that age. Thus the claim of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* to the rank of the Mahāpurāṇa is stronger than the claim of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata.*

The Vaishṇava writers of the mediaeval age, whom we have already mentioned, seem to have had knowledge of this. So, some of them have tried to turn the tide in favour of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* by making certain old Purāṇic verses applicable to it with the help of sophistic and far-fetched interpretaion.

As far as is known at present, the Vishṇu-Bhāgavata received the earliest support to its claim for being regarded as a Mahāpurāṇa from the *Tahaqiq-ul-Hind* of Alberuni. But long before it, the *Devī-Bhāgavata* received a similar support to its claim from the Matsyapurāṇa relevant verse of which has already been quoted.

In addition to these direct evidences, an indirect evidence also leads us to support the claim of the *Devī-Bhāgavata.* Though we are not yet in a position to say anything about the date when the Śākta sect came into existence, yet we can say definitely that when the age of the Mahāpurāṇas began, there were many Śāktas in the country. So when the Śaivas and the Vaishṇavas began to write Mahāpurāṇas for describing the glories and exploits of Siva and Vishṇu respectively, those Śāktas naturally felt the need for writing at least one Mahāpurāṇa for describing the glories and exploits of Devī. Thus one of them wrote the *Devī Bhāgavata.* It is of course incorrect to say that they felt this need when it was too late-when the age of the Mahāpurāṇas was gone.

Among the advocates of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* Rajendra Lal Mitra and R. C. Hazra have tried to prove that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* was not regarded as an authentic and authoritative

work by the learned men of the mediaeval age. We should now discuss about the correctness of the arguments put forward by them.

The remark of Rajendra Lal is to the effect that the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* has been quoted by a host of Mediaeval writers as a Mahāpurāṇa and a large number of commentaries has explained its meaning* * * whereas the Śākta work has neither the benefit of a commentary nor the authority derivable from quotations by respectable authors.

Then, Dr. Hazra has observed :—

"The verses quoted from the *Bhāgavata* by Ballālasena, Madhvāchārya, Hemādri, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, Gopālabhaṭṭa and others are very often found in the present Bhāgavata * * * whereas the name of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* has not been mentioned in any of the numerous Nibandhas, we have examined."

Existence of a large number of commentaries of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* need not, in our opinion, be taken into account in considering the question relating to the authenticity of either *Bhāgavata*. It only shows that the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* is very popular among the Hindus. We may explain here that its popularity is due partly to the literary beauty possessed by it (and by no other Purāṇa) and partly to the gradual change in the psychology of the Hindus, caused by the Muslim conquest of India, which made them hopeless about wordly prosperity and bend towards the doctrine of Bhakti, ably expounded in it.

It may be added here that most of the Purāṇas have got no commentary at all and a few of them have got one or two commentaries each. It may also be added in contradiction to the statement made by Raja Rajendra Lal that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* belongs to the latter group, for it has three commentaries-vide Aufrecht's Cutalogus Catalogorum (Pt. i) p. 261.

However, references to and quotations from the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, found in the works of the mediaeval age are indeed very few in number. A few verses quoted by Gangādhara in his commentary on the *Dharmasaṁhitā* of the *Śivapurāṇa* and by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha

in his *Devī-Bhāgavata-Sthiti* from certain Purāṇic works mention it among Upapurāṇas. Among the Smriti Nibandhas, only the *Durgāpradīpa* compiled in the 16th century, has quoted a verse which prescribes its reading during the Navarātra festival ; and the *Sivārchanadīpaka*, compiled in the 17th century has quoted a passage from it. The *Saubhāgyabhāskara*, a commentary on the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, written by Bhāskara Rāya in the 18th century has also quoted passages from it. In the *Bhāskarabilāsa*, a biography of Bhāskara Rāya, written by one of his disciples, we find that he popularized it.

Besides these, certain quarrelling pamphlets, written in the 17th and 18th centuries, have referred to it. Then commentaries on it have been mentioned by Aufrecht in the Catalogus Catalogorum. Of these, the commentary written by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha in the latter half of the 18th century has come down to us.

In no other work we find any reference to or quotations from the *Devī-Bhagavata*. However, we have got reason to suspect that a big passage, which forms part of chapter 30 of Skandha VII of this work, has been assimilated by the *Matsyapurāṇa*, *Sriṣṭikhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa* and *Revākhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*. This passage is a list of the names under which Devī is worshipped at places where her limbs fell on being severed by the arrow of Vishṇu, after she had committed suicide on account of her father's objectionable conduct.

In the *Devī-Bhāgavata* Vyāsa, after narrating the story of Devī's suicide and severance of Devī's limbs, quotes a remark of Śiva, according to which, the persons who will worship Devī at the places where her limbs fell, will have their desires fulfilled ; at this the king Janamejaya asks the names of those places as well as the names of Devī's manifestations residing in those places ; so Vyāsa recites the list. In the *Matsyapurāṇa* Devī determines to commit suicide ; at this, her father asks her about the places at which she will be found and the names by which she will be worshipped (in those places) ; in reply, Devī recites the list. In the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Sriṣṭi Khaṇḍa*) Sāvitrī, displeased with

Brahmā, prepares herself to leave his abode ; in order to pacify her, Vishṇu says to her that though she is everywhere, yet he is mentioning the names of the places where men, who want fulfilment of desire, will find her; and then recites the list. According to the *Skandapurāṇa* (*Revākhaṇḍa*) the ṛishi Māṇḍavya, who has been placed on a stake by royal officers, propitiates Śiva, who soon appears before him with Devī. Then he requests Devī to name the places where she exists in the form in which she has appeared before him and Devī recites the list.

Now, if any one examines the relevant chapters of all the four Purāṇas, mentioned above, from a literary point of view, he will have to admit that the question put by Janamejaya in the Devī-Bhāgavata is a justifiable one, whereas the questions put by Devī's father in the *Matsyapurāṇa* and by Māṇḍavya in the *Skandapurāṇa* (*Revākhaṇḍa*) as well as the remark made by Vishṇu in the *Padmapurāṇa* (*Sṛishṭikhaṇḍa*) are unjustifiable and unsuitable to the occasions. So, we think that originally the *Devī-Bhāgavata* had the list in question. Soon it became very popular and the other three Purāṇas then borrowed it from the Devī-Bhāgavata.[18]

Also, the stories relating to the severance of Vishṇu's head from his body and the adventure of the Haihaya Prince Ekavīra are found in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (I. 5 and VI. 19-23) as well as in the recently discovered original *Kālikāpurāṇa* (chapter 39 and 47 to 56) ; and according to a passage, which we have already quoted, the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is the source of the original *Kālikāpurāṇa*. So, we may say that the former has lent and the latter has borrowed the above stories.[19] Again the story relating to the

18. Another Smṛiti-Nibandha, named the Durgātaranginī also prescribes its formal reading during the Navarātra festival, according to Śaiva Nīlakaṇtha.

19. The story of the severance of Vishṇu's head from his body is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIV. 1. 1. 6 to 10) and the Panchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (VII. 5. 6) also. Some of our readers may presume, therefore, that the author of the original Kālikāpurāṇa borrowed it from either of these Brāhmaṇas. But as that Kālikāpurāṇa abounds in grammatical mistakes, its author was probaby not a very learned man and did not handle any Vedic work. So, we presume that he borrowed the above story from the Devī Bhāgavata.

performance of the Durgāpūjā by Rāma is found in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (III. 30) as well as in the extant *Kālikāpurāṇa* (chapter 60) with slight variations; and though this *Kālikāpurāṇa* does not mention the *Devī-Bhāgavata* as its source, a comparison of the dates of their composition will prove that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is older and this *Kālikāpurāṇa* is younger. So, the latter has borrowed the above story from the former. One more instance of such borrowing has been traced by Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha in a clause included in a verse, which, according to him, belongs to the *Adityapurāṇa.*[20]

In this clause Vṛitra's death caused by Devī has been alluded to; and among all the Purāṇic works, it is only the *Devī-Bhāgavata* (VI.6) that describes Vritra's death through Devī's instrumentality. So, it must be admitted that Ādityapurāṇa has borrowed the substance of the clause relating to Vṛitra's death from the Devī-Bhāgavata.

Although the remark made by Śrīdharasvāmin in his commentary on the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata,* which we have referred to in the beginning of this article, clearly implies the existence of the Devī-Bhāgavata in his days (circa 1350-1450), it is strange to observe that all Nibandhas relating to both Smriti and Tantra, composed after those days, are peculiarly silent about it. Silence of the Nibandhas like the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* of Vidyāpati, *Durgotsava-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, *Durgāpūjātattva* of Raghunandana and *Navarātrapradīpa* of Nandapaṇḍita, which deal solely with the Durgāpūjā or Navarātra festival (described in the Devī-Bhāgavata III. 26, 27 and V.34), the *Śrītattvachintāmaṇi* of Pūrṇānanda Giri, which deals solely with the nature and attributes of Devī (described in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* VII.31 to 36) and the *Śāktānanda-taraṅgiṇī* of Brahmānanda Giri and *Tantrasāra* of Krishṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa which deal *inter alia* with subjects which have been discussed in detail in the Devī-Bhāgavata (e. g. rules for the use of

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20. Apparently Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha has meant the Saurapurāṇa, in chapter 49 of which, we find the verse in question with slight variation of reading. It runs as follows:—

या जघ्ने महिषं दैत्यं क्रूरं वृत्रासुरं तथा । साद्य रक्तासुरं हत्वा स्वराज्यं ते प्रदास्यति ॥

rosary made of Rudrākshas, excellence of Śakti-worship, purification of the elements of the body, rules for the Japa or formal repetition of mantras) makes us astonished. Our astonishment increases, when we notice that most of these Nibandhas have abundantly quoted passages from other Purāṇic works.

Those who wish to fix the status of a Purāṇic work from the number of its passages quoted in the Nibandhas, will no doubt explain this silence of the above Nibandhas by saying that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* was disregarded by men of all sects, including the Sāktas. Before abiding by such a paradox, we should see whether this silence can be explained in any other way.

A remark made by Narasiṁha Vājapeyin, in his *Nityāchāra-pradīpa*, which also we have referred to in the beginning of this article informs us that certain persons regard the *Kālikāpurāṇa* as the Bhāgavata and declares that as Lakshmīdhara has proved that purāṇa to be an Upapurāṇa, those persons are silenced.

Perhaps we should suspect from this remark that Narasiṃha, Vājapeyin as well as his contemporary pandits belonging to his native land Orissa were totally ignorant of the existence of the *Devī-Bhāgavata*.

A similar ignorance, of the pandits of Bengal came to light in the last century from a statement made by Babu Janamejaya Mitra, father of Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra, in his book entitled Mahāpurāṇa Śrīmadbhāgavatānukramaṇikā. We learn from it that Maharaja Nabakrishna (who was a contemporary of Robert Clive and Warren Hastings and founder of the Raj family of Sobhabazar, Calcutta) being desirous of collecting manuscripts of all the Purāṇās as well as of all the Parvans of the *Mahābhārata* sent three Bengali Pandits to Varanasi. These pandits, while engaged at Varanasi in doing the needful, wrote a letter to the Maharaja. which was to the following effect:—

One day the remark of Śrīdharasvāmin, made in his commentary on the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, forbidding the acceptance, as the true *Beāgavata*, of any book, other than that commented on by him, attracted the notice of Babu Durgaçharan Mitra (who was

Maharaja's Dewan at Varanasi) and he requested the pandits of Varanasi to find out the second Bhāgavata, existence of which has been hinted at by Śrīdharasvāmin. Nobody agreed to comply with this request. at last one Ramachandra Ghulia, who was a great poet, agreed to comply. He then composed the *Devī-Bhāgavata* describing the exploits of Devī in it and divided it into Skandhas and chapters in imitation of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata.* Being pleased with it, Babu Durgacharan Mitra gave its author much reward and got that spurious Purāṇa circulated at Varanasi.

This letter makes not only two irreconcilable statements (according to one of which Babu Durgacharan Mitra came to know about the existence of the Devī-Bhāgavata from a remark of Śrīdharasvāmin, who had lived nearly four hundred years before him, while according to the other, that work was written by a poet of his own time), but also betrays an ignorance of the pandits of Bengal about the existence of the Devī-Bhāgavata up to the 18th century.

The only conclusion which we ought to arrive at from these facts is that some centuries ago all the manuscripts of the *Devī-Bhāgavata,* which Orissa and Bengal had, disappeared from those provinces and very few manuscripts of it remained in other parts of India.

Certainly such an event should be attributed to some special cause and not mere chance and facts detailed below lead us to think that it was religious fanaticism of certain Vaishṇava kings of Orissa and Begal.

1. Some oft-quoted lines of unknown authoriship and date indicate that the Śāktas had to live outwardly like Vaishṇavas and repeat mantras meant for propitiating Vishṇu.[21]

2. Some verses of the *Nīlatantra* (which was probably composed, like many other Tantras, in Bengal or Mithila) indicate

21 (a) अन्तःशाक्ताः बहिः शैवाः समाया वैष्णवाः स्मृताः ।
नानारूपधराः कोला विचरन्ति महीतले ॥
(b) सर्वेषां विष्णुमन्त्राणां दुर्गाधिष्ठातृदेवता ।

that the Śāktas had to perform their religious rites secretly for fear of molestation by Vaishṇavas.[22]

3. According to a story, which we find in the Bengali version of the *Bhaktamāla* (Garland of Saints), a king of Kaśi having been converted to Śāktism by Śaṅkarāchārya, ordered that all manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* (*Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*) should be thrown in the Ganges. His order was carried out. But the Ganges did not destroy the manuscripts and Vopadeva recovered them after some time. Then Śankarāchārya repented his action and wrote a commentary on the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata.* By comparing the available number of manuscripts of the two Bhāgavatas as well as the number of Nibandhas which have drawn upon them, we are led to suspect that it was the *Devī-Bhāgavata* that suffered prescription, described above, under the orders of a king, who was necessarily a Vaishṇava by religion. Also, as the story is found in the Bengali version of the *Bhaktamāla,* and not in its Hindi original, we think that it narrates the deeds of a king of Bengal.

4. While some manuscripts of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* bearing pretty old dates, have been discovered in other provinces of India, no such manuscript has been discovered either in Orissa or in Bengal.

5. In his article 'Ekānamśā and Subhadrā', published in the J.A.S.B. (Vol. II) 1936; (pp. 41-46). Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh has presumed that the image of Subhadrā, placed between the images of Jagannātha and Balarāma in the celebrated temple of Puri is really an image of Ekānamśā, the Mother Goddess of

22. निर्जने चैव कर्तव्या न चैव जनसन्निधौ ॥

× × × ×

कुलपुष्पं कुलद्रव्यं कुलपूजां कुलं जपं ।
कुलचक्रं कुलं ध्यानं सर्वथा न प्रकाशयेत् ॥
प्रकाशात् सिद्धिहानिः स्यात् प्रकाशान्निधनादिकम् ।
प्रकाशान्मन्त्रनाशः स्याद् प्रकाशात् कुलहिंसनम् ॥
प्रकाशान्मृत्युलाभः स्यान्न प्रकाश्यं कदाचन ॥
पूजाकाले च देवेशि यदि कोऽप्यत्र गच्छति ।
दर्शयेद्वैष्णवीं मुद्रां विष्णुध्यानं तथा स्तवम् ॥

the Śāktas, which, according to chapter 58 of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, should be placed between the images of Krishṇa and Balarāma. In support of this presumption Mr. Ghosh has pointed out that Subhadrā has been called Kātyāyanī in chapter 57 of the *Brahmapurāṇa* and recitation of the Devīsūkta at the time of her worship has been prescribed in chapter 29 of the *Purushottamamāhātmya* included in the *Vishṇukhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*. Moreover, ginger and molasses, which, according to the Śākta idea, form a substitute of wine, accompany her daily dishes, even now.

This change in the name of Ekānamśā is certainly due to some conflict which took place in the past between the Śāktas and the Vaishṇavas of Orissa and which led the latter to deny the fact of their worshipping the Mother Goddess of the former.

In addition to this a very old tradition tells us that a Śrī-Yantra is lying hidden below the floor of the temple, in front of the Ratnavedī or jewel altar, on which the above images are seated. If this tradition is correct, then in it also we get trace of a conflict, which ended with the defeat of the Śāktas of Orissa.

6. The Pārāyaṇa or ceremonial according of the Devī-Bhāgavata is still in vogue in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra etc. but not in Orissa and Bengal.

With regard to the date of this event the following deservations are to be noted.

As the Somavamśī kings of Orissa were Śivaites, this event did not take place in Orissa during their reigns; and as the Pala kings and the earliar Sena kings of Bengal were Buddhists and Śivaites respectively, this event did not take place in Bengal during their reigns. In these circumstances, the second quarter of the 12th century, when Orissa was under the rule of Anantavarman of the Ganga dynasty and Bengal was under the rule of Lakshmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty (both of whom were Vaishṇavas) should perhaps be taken as the period of occurrence of this event.

We would mention here that Rāmānuja, the Vaishṇava saint of Southern India, was a senior contemporary of Ananta-

varman, and that according to the *Prapannāmṛita*, he came to Puri in the course of his digvijaya (tour of propaganda) and brought the king of that place under his influence. So, it is quite possible that Anantavarman imbibed the agressive spirit of Rāmānuja, manifested by his conversion of the temples of Śiva and Harihara (Vishṇu-Śiva), situated at Srikurmam and Tirupati respectively, into temples of Vishṇu, his conflict with Adhirājendra, the contemporary Saiva king of Chola country (which ended with the death of that king in suspicious circumstances) and his arrangement, with the help of his royal disciple Vishṇuvardhana for grinding the Jaina priests of Gangavādi in an oil-mill, for compelling them to embrace Vaishṇavism.[23] Then, we learn by comparing the epigraphical records of the reign of Lakshmaṇasena with those of the reigns of his father and grandfather that he forsook his ancestral Śaiva faith and embraced Vaishṇava faith. So, it is quite possible that, like most of the renegades, he was a zealous lover of his new faith.[24]

Perhaps the combined efforts of Anantavarman and Lakshmaṇasena led to the disappearance of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* from Orissa and Bengal.

Now, Dr. Hazra has satisfactorily proved in his article published in the Journal of Oriental Research : 1953 (p. p. 71-77) that the author of the Devī-Bhāgavata was a Bengali.[25] So, in those days, when the printing machines were unknown, Bengal possessed the largest number of its manuscripts ; and Orissa, being her immediate neighbour, possessed some manuscripts ; and very few

23. Of the four events of the life of Rāmānuja, alluded to above, the first three have been described in the Prapannāmrita and other biographies of Rāmānuja. The fourth has been described in an article of captain Mackenzie, published in the Indian Antiquary, 1872, (p. p. 40-44) which is probably based on some Jaina work.

24. Lakshmaṇasena's change of religion might be due to his residing in Orissa for some time in his youth, (in company of Anantavarman ??) mentioned in his Madhainagar copperplate grant—J.A. S. B, New Series (Vol. V) : (1909) (p.p. 471-475)

25. Dr. Hazra has also anounced that the author of the Devi-Bhāgavata settled at Varanasi and wrote his book there. Such an assumption is altogether unnecessary in our opinion.

manuscripts reached other provinces. When, therefore, the manuscripts of Orissa and Bengal were destroyed, only those very few manuscripts remained. In all probability this is the reason why most of the Nibandhas have omitted to draw upon the *Devī-Bhāgavata* and this is the reason why Bhāskara Rāya felt the need of popularizing it.

Of course, the above presumption may not be correct to the letter. But certain violent actions taken by certain Vaishṇava kings of Orissa and Bengal seem to be at the root of the mystery relating to the *Devī-Bhāgavata* ; and in the present state of our knowledge we must identify those kings with Anantavarman and Lakshmaṇa Sena.

However, the omission of Ballālasena, the father of Lakshmaṇasena to draw upon the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is yet to be explained.

Two books written by this king, named the Adbhutasāgara and the *Dānasāgara* have come to light uptill now. The former one deals with the omens and auguries and the latter one deals with the merits of gifts.

Now, the *Adbhutasāgara* states that Ballālasena having died before finishing it, his son Lakshmaṇasena finished it. And we have shown grounds for suspecting Lakshmaṇasena to be hostile towards the *Devī-Bhāgavata*. If we are correct, then the omission noticeable in the *Adhbutasāgara*, to draw upon the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, is not Ballālasena's but Lakshmaṇasena's.

As regards the omission of the *Dānasāgara* to draw upon the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, we would invite the attention of our readers to a passage which appears in the preface of the *Dānasāgara* and which states that the *Bhāgavata*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Nāradīya Purāṇas* have not been taken into account (in writing the *Dānasāgara*) as they do not deal with the rules relating to gifts. It is to be noted in this connection that the Vishṇu Bhāgavata contains no chapter on gift, the Devī-Bhāgavata, however contains only one chapter (chap. 29 or Skandha 9). From this Dr. Hazra has made a mistake in interning that the Devī Bhāgavata is not the Bhāgavata meant by Ballālasena. For this would give rise to the fallacy of *Argumentum ex silentio*.

In the opinion of Dr. Hazra, expressed in his article published in the New Indian Antiquary (1938-39) pp. 522-528 the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* mentioned in the above passage means the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*, which contains no chapter on the merits of gifts. Moreover, the *Devī-Bhāgavata* contains one chapter (chapter 29 of Skandha IX) on that subject. Yet the Dānasāgara has not drawn upon it. From this Dr. Hazra infers that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is not the Bhāgavata meant by Ballālasena.

Then, in his article published in the Journal of Oriental Research, 1953, (pp. 49-79) he states that almost all the chapters of Skandha IX of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* have been taken from the *Prakṛitikhaṇḍa* of the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa with certain additions and alterations.

By combining these two statements of Dr. Hazra we get the following facts:—

1. The *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa,* as we see it, is an earlier work and the *Devī-Bhāgavata,* is a later work.

2. Skandha IX of the *Devī-Bhāgavata,* as we see it, was borrowed at the time of the composition of that work from the Prakṛitikhaṇḍa of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa.*

3. The *Devī-Bhāgavata,* with its Skandha IX borrowed from the Prakṛitikhaṇḍa, was in existence in the days of Ballālasena, but he did not regard it as an authentic and authoritative work.

Now, in his 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records' Dr. Hazra has stated in repetition of a statement made by Mr. Jogesh Chandra Roy that the *Brahmavaivartapurāna,* though composed in the 8th century, has been subjected to additions and alterations till the 16th century. Of this period, the latter part, i. e., the 14th, 15th or 16th century, which saw the subjugation of the greater part of India by Muslims, should be assigned to the *Prakṛitikhaṇḍa,* Chapter 7 of which refers to the adoption of Mlechchha customs and study of Mlechchha scriptures by the four castes in the Kali

age[26] and Chapter 30 of which mentions the punishment to be awarded after death to a Brahman of India, who serves a Mlechchha. So, the 15th, 16th or 17th century should be assigned to the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, which has borrowed from the Prakṛitikhaṇḍa and chapters 8 and 33 of which are repetitions of the chapters of the *Prakritikhaṇḍa* referred to above. Similarly the 16th, 17th or 18th century should be assigned to the *Revākhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, which has mentioned the *Devī-Bhāgavata* in its list of the Mahāpurāṇas. And, as Ballālasena has mentioned the *Revākhaṇḍa* in his Dānasāgara, his reign should be brought down to the closing years of the above period.

Even then we cannot get rid of difficulties. Later in his article Dr. Hazra has, in view of the mention of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* made by Śrīdharasvāmin and some subsequent writers arrived at the conclusion that it was probably composed in the 11th or 12th century. To accept this conclusion, we must either revise our dating based on Dr. Hazra's statements referred to in the preceding paragraph and assume that the Prakṛitikhaṇḍa from which the *Devī-Bhāgavata* has borrowed, was, with its lines relating to the prevalence of Mlechchha customs and study of Mlechchha Scriptures, composed in the 10th century or antedate the Muslim conquest of India by two centuries'. Moreover, a question arises here. Why did not Ballālasena draw in his Dānasāgara upon the *Prakritikhaṇḍa*, which was in existence in his days and chapter 26 of which deals with the merits of gifts ?

We do not find a satisfactory reply to this question.

In these circumstances, is it not better to assume that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* was in existence in the days of Ballālasena but its Skandha IX with its chapter 29 (copied from chapter 26 of the Prakṛitikhaṇḍa) was not ? This can easily explain why Ballālasena has not drawn upon the *Devī-Bhāgavata* in his *Dānasāgara*.

The vicissitudes of fortune, to which the Devī-Bhāgavata was subjected during the reigns of Anantavarman and Lakshmaṇa-

26. म्लेच्छाचारा भविष्यन्ति वर्णाश्चत्वार एव च ।
म्लेच्छशास्त्रं पठिष्यन्ति स्वशास्त्राणि विहाय च ॥

sena probably led to the loss of the whole of Skandha IX as well as of the geographical chapters (chapters 5 to 13) of Skandha VIII which it originally had. This loss made the tradition relating to the composition of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* of 18000 verses inapplicable to the *Devī-Bhāgavata*. To settle this discrepancy, some adherent of that work, who lived in the 16th or 17th century, probably translated in poetical language the geographical chapters (chapters 16 to 20) of Skandha V of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* (written partly in prose and partly in poetry) and copied the *Prakṛitikhaṇḍa* of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* and inserted them in the *Devī-Bhāgavata*.

This presumption is confirmed by the following two facts:—

1. In the above-mentioned chapters of Skandha VIII and in the whole of Skandha IX of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* Nārāyaṇa and Krishṇa has been paid the greatest respect.

2. Chapter 1, 2, 4 and 17 of Skandha IV of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* expressly attempt to lower Vishṇu, Rāma and Kṛishṇa. Yet nowhere in those chapters we find any reference to the story relating to the rape of Tulasī by Vishṇu which has been told in chapter 24 of Skandha IX (of the *Devī-Bhāgavata*).

Dr. Hazra also states that Ballālasena has not included the name of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* among those of the spurious or rejected Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. Intention of this statement of his is not clear. However, the reason why the name of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* does not appear among those of the spurious Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas mentioned by Ballālasena is of course this that he had no reason for considering it spurious; and we have already explained that it appears among rejected Purāṇas.

Some more arguments have been put forward by Dr. Hazra for proving his point. We are dealing with them serially.

First of these arguments is this that the contents of the *Bhāgavata* (*Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*) are more befitting a principal Purāṇa than those of the *Devī-Bhāgavata*. But the contents of some other Purāṇas (e. g. the *Vāmanapurāṇa* and the *Varāhapuaāṇa*) also are

not fully befitting principal *Purāṇas.* So, this argument is not a strong one.

Next argument of Dr. Hazra is based on the mention of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* (and not of the *Devī-Bhāgavata*) as one of the principal Purāṇas by Alberuni. The following remark made by Edward Sachau at the end of the preface to his English translation of Alberuni's work refutes this argument :

Lastly, India, as known to Alberuni, was, in matters of religion, Vishṇuite (Vaishṇava), not Śivaite (Śaiva). Vishṇu or Nārāyaṇa is the first god in the Hindu pantheon of his Hindu informants and literary authorities, whilst Śiva is only incidentally mentioned and that too not in a favourable manner.

It appears that after the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata* came into existence, the Vaishṇavas began to mention it by the name *Bhāgavata.* As Alberuni's informants were Vaishṇavas, they informed him that the Bhāgavata was a Vaishṇava Purāṇa.

Next argument draws our attention to the contents of the *Śrīmadbhāgavata,* described by the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* in chapter 96 of its *Pūrvaabhāga* and agreement of the same with the contents of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata.* But as already seen by us, Vidyātīrtha has conclusively proved that chapter of the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* to be an interpolation of a very late date ; and the views expressed by Dr. Hazra about that chapter of his studies in the Purāṇic Records (p. 132) are almost similar to those expressed by Vidyātīrtha. It is therefore not clear to us why he has attached importance to that chapter.

Then Dr. Hazra points out that in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (*Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*) there is no mention of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* nor there is any attempt to prove its own superior position but in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* the *Vishṇu-Brāgauata* has been included among the Upapurāṇas, obviously with a view to establish its own claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa. This shows that the *Devī-Bhāgavata* is not a Mahāpurāṇa.

Evidently Dr. Hazra has overlooked an important point here. He has made this remark with reference to the list of Mahāpurāṇas

and Upapurāṇas which is found in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* I. 3. But such lists are found in some other Mahāpurāṇas also, and we have reason to believe that they were compiled long after the composition of those Mahāpurāṇas, probably by persons who were entitled to handle them. The same thing may be said in respect of the list found in the *Devī-Bhāgavata* also. So, the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, (i. e., its original portion) cannot be suspected of attempting to prove its own superiority (and its rival's inferiority).

Let us explain our intention fully with the help of examples.

The *Vāyupurāṇa* and the *Matsyapurāṇa* are two of the oldest Mahāpurāṇas ; and each of them has got a list of Mahāpurāṇas in it ; in addition, the *Matsyapurāṇa* has got a list of Upapurāṇas also, as already told.

Now, if we take it for granted that these lists were compiled by the authors of those Purāṇas, then we should admit that the *Vāyupurāṇa* was composed after the composition of all Mahāpurāṇas and the *Matsyapurāṇa* was composed still later,—after the composition of the Upapurāṇas, mentioned by it. Will it be correct ?

Last agrument of Dr. Hazra also falls flat. It deals with the difference of opinion among the Śāktas about the identity of their *Bhāgavata* in consequences of which some of them regard the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, some regard the *Devīpurāṇa* and some regard the *Devī-Bhāgavata* as this work. According to him this is due to the jealousy of the Śāktas of the position and influence of the *Vishṇu-Bhāgavata*, which led them to compose those Purāṇas and claim position and influence of the Purāṇa of their rivals. But will it not be more reasonable to assume that this difference of opinion among the Śāktas was due to speculations for a long-lost thing about the loss of which they had not kept any record, partly on account of the disorder created by the Muslim conquest of Northern India shortly after the destruction of manuscripts of the *Devī-Bhāgavata* by Lakshmaṇasena and Anantavarman..

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For Śrīmad-bhāgavata as the Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa

1. Śrīdhara Svāmin's Tīkā on the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata (i.e. the Viṣṇu-Bhāgavata).
2. 'Nityācārapradīpa of Narasiṁha Vājapeyin
3. 'Bhāgavata-Visaya-Svarūpa-Śaṅkā-nirāsa-trayodaśa of Purusottama-tīrtha.
4. 'Tattva-Sandarbha' portion of 'Sat-Sandarbha' of Jīvagosvāmin.
5. 'Vīra-mitrodaya' of Mitramiśra.
6. 'Durjana-mukha-capetikā' by Bhāttji Dīkṣita alias Rāmāśrama.
7. 'Siddhānta-darpaṇa' by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.
8. Winternitz '*History of Indian Literature*', Vol. I, pp. 554-556.
9. Rājā Rājendralal Mitra : *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner*', pp. 193-198.
10. R. C. Hazra : '*Studies in the Purāṇic Records on the Hindu Rites and customs*' pp. 52-57. Also his article 'The Devī-Bhāgavata' published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XXI, Parts I–IV. (Sept. 1951-June 1952), pp. 48.79.

For Devī-bhāgavata as the Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa

1. 'Durjana-mukha-mahācapetikā' (or better 'Durjana-mukha-capetikā) written by Kāśīnāth Bhatta in reply to the 'Durjana-mukha capetikā' of Rāmāśrama. (See Aufrecht, *op. cit.*, part III)
2. 'Durjana-mukhapadma-pādukā' a refutation of Rāmāśrama's treatise, by an anonymous writer. (See *ib.*)
3. 'Varivasyā-rahasya' by Bhāskara-rāya.
4. 'Devī-bhāgavata-sthiti' by Śaiva Nīlakaṇtha in his Comm ; '*Tilaka*' on the Devī-bhāg. (His attitude compromising).
5. Another 'Devī-bhāgavata sthiti' by Vidya tirtha.
6. H. T. Colebrooke's '*Miscellaneous Essays*', Vol. I , p. 104.
7. E. Burnouf's preface to his translation of the Bhāg. Purāṇa, preface, pp. LXII ff.
8. Wilson's Preface to his translation of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, pp. XLIV—L. 1.
9. M. M. Ganganath Jha's article published in the '*Kuppu-Swami Sastri Commemoration Volume* ; pp. 1-2.
10. Articles on the Devī-bhāgavata in *ABORI*, XIV, 1932-33, pp. 241-9 and XXIII, 1942, pp. 559-62.

(For MSS. of the unpublished old treatises see Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*).

—Editor,

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE PURĀṆAS ON THE KṚṢṆA LĪLĀ

By

BALDEVA UPADHYAYA

[भारतीयवाङ्मये श्रीकृष्णचरितं सर्वव्यापि वर्तते। पुराणेषु वंशस्य वंशानुचरितस्य वा वर्णनप्रसङ्गे अथवा कुत्रचित् स्वतन्त्रतो वा श्रीकृष्णचरितं वर्णितमस्ति। अत्र विदुषा लेखकेन सयुक्तिकं प्रदर्शितं यत् न केवलमैतिहासिक-दृष्ट्या एव श्रीकृष्णः तत्कालस्य सर्वाधिकमहत्त्वपूर्णो मानवः अपि तु सांस्कृतिक-धार्मिक दृष्ट्याऽपि तस्य चरित्रमतिमहत्त्वपूर्णं वर्तते। वैष्णवसम्प्रदायेषु श्रीकृष्णस्य तत्प्रतिपादकपुराणानां च विशेषतः प्रभावो दृश्यते। अत्र अग्नि-ब्रह्म-पद्म-ब्रह्मवैवर्त-विष्णु-श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणानां श्रीकृष्णचरितस्य विवरणं दत्तम्। तत्र ये अंशा महत्त्वपूर्णास्तेषां महत्त्वं प्रदर्शितम्। अन्ततः संक्षिप्तरूपेण निबन्धस्य सारांशः प्रस्तुतः।]

The Purāṇas hold a unique place in the history of the religious literature of the Hindus. They are an inexhaustible mine of pure gold in the shape of very useful and interesting information which they contain not only about the social and political history of this vast land but also about the ethical and philosophical problems of perennial interest. They are indeed a veritable encyclopaedia of Hindu Religion and Ethics. At a time when the language and the teachings of our oldest scriptures, the Vedas–the Fountain-head of all religions and philosophies-were, due to the prevailing ignorance of the age, liable to be misconstrued and misunderstood, the venerable Vedavyāsa, that great benefactor of humanity, took upon himself the onerous task of composing such works for the benefit of the erring mortals as will be suitable compendia for explaining in an easy way the subtle truths and the profound problems of the holy Śruti. These works are the present Purāṇas, which have got the obvious purpose of popularizing and propagating the ideas and ideals of the great Sanātana Dharma.

At present we are not concerned with the study of the age and authenticity of the Purāṇas. Suffice it to say that we hold

all the eighteen Purāṇas to be of equal importance for the study of our ancient culture and religion and do firmly believe that, inspired as they are by a highly noble ideal for their composition, they are undoubtedly characterized by an unmistakeable unity of purpose running through all them. As the classical definition[1] of Purāṇas (पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्) has it, they possess five well-known characteristics (लक्षण). They deal, as ideally conceived, with सर्ग (creation), प्रतिसर्ग (dissolution of the universe), वंश (royal genealogies), मन्वन्तर (different Manu-ages) and वंशानुचरित (detailed histories of some of the prominent royal dynasties of ancient India). This is only an ideal description, but all the Purāṇas do not conform to it. It is only in some of the major ones that all these characteristics attain their full scope and significance.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa was a noble scion of the deservedly reputed Yādava dynasty. His divine qualities apart, He was, even as a great historical figure, a noble embodiment of all the great qualities of head and heart. He was a towering genius of His age, who, endowed with a magnetic personality, outshone every rival, if any, and commanded profound respect and admiration from all, the high and the low, from everyone who happened to come into his contact. Viewed even in an historical perspective, Śrī Kṛṣṇa deserves ample treatment at the hands of the writer of the Purāṇas. But He was more than that. He is the highest incarnation of the great Viṣṇu descended for the destruction of the wicked and the protection of the righteous. Hence, it is but natural to suppose that the Purāṇas will accord Him ample scope for a detailed

1. The classical definition of the purāṇa, as found in most of the purāṇas, is given in the following well-known verse :—

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।

वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ।।

Agni I. 14 ; Kūrma I. 1. 12 ; Garuḍa I. 125. 14 ; Viṣṇu III. 6. 25 ; Mārkaṇḍeya 134. 13.

A slightly different definition is given in the Kāvya Mīmāṁsā in the following verse where Kalpa has been mentioned as one of the principal subjects of the purāṇas :—

सर्गः प्रतिसंहारः कल्पो मन्वन्तराणि वंशविधिः ।

जगतो यत्र निबद्धं तद् विज्ञेयं पुराणमिति ।।

description of a variety of His divinely sweet Līlās. And this they have done. Out of the complete list of the 18 Purāṇas, about two-third deal more or less with the life and deeds of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The Purāṇic narration of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's Līlās has followed two different methods. In some they are treated only incidentally, along with the description of the kings of the ancient Kṣatriya dynasties ; while in others special sections or books have been devoted to a lengthy and appropriate description of those important incidents. The Purāṇas of the first type are: Garuḍa (I 149), Kūrma (I. 24-26), Vāyu (96), Nārada (II. 81), and Devī-Bhāgavata (IV. 20-26 and IX), which contain useful information about Rādhā along with the other manifestations of Śakti. The Purāṇas of the second type are about six, all of which have been analysed and described here. They are Agni, Brahma, Padma Brahmavaivarta, Viṣṇu and Śrimad Bhāgavata. Out of these, the Agni-Purāṇa has got only a short chapter, while the Brahma and Padma Purāṇas have devoted several Adhyāyas to this subject. The last three have devoted whole sections and books to the description of Kṛṣṇa-Carita and should be considered on that score to be the most important and comprehensive store-house of all the available informations collected in these ancient works touching upon the manysided personality of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and upon His divine Līlās. We shall present below only a short account of those Adhyāyas and books of the above-mentioned Purāṇas in which Kṛṣṇa-Carita has been dealt with.

Agni-Purāṇa

As it stands, it presents an excellent epitome of all available and useful information about the different branches of learning and sciences. Hence its very nature forbids its attempting a lengthy treatment of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life. It has devoted a single adhyāya, viz. the 18th, consisting of only 56 short anuṣṭup verses, and thus catalogues only the important events connected with the life and work of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

Brahma-Purāṇa

It contains 33 Adhyāyas (180-212) on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Both the Līlās-those of Vṛndāvana and of Dvārkā-have been

presented here in a concise form. Here are to be found all the important Vṛndāvana-Līlās which we have come to associate with the name of that Divine Cowherd. The 189th Adhyāya gives a fine description of Rāsa-Līlā, where we find veritable echoes of some of the charming verses of Śrimad Bhāgavata. The Gopīs' lament at the sudden departure of Śrī Kṛṣṇa to Mathurā at the instance of Akrūra is profoundly touching and truly heart-rending But a thorough comparision of these Adhyāyas with those in the fifth Aṁśa (book) of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa reveals the fact that they contain a nicely made epitome of the latter. Here we find that two or three Adhyāyas have been condensed into one by the omission of a large number of verses not considered essential for following the thread of the narrative. For want of space we are compelled to omit a detailed comparision and analysis of these chapters here, but wish to stress the point that these chapters of the Brahma Purāṇa are totally based upon those of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa as is evident not only from the similarity of ideas but also from the identity of their construction and phraseology. In fact, they present a judicious selection of the verses of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa with the obvious purpose of giving, in a nutshell, the chief events of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life.

Padma-Purāṇa

It is one of the most important among the major Purāṇas. In point of extent and volume it is second only to the great Skanda-Purāṇa, which is easily the most voluminous among the Purāṇas. The text of the Purāṇa as published from the Ānandāśrama, Poona, contains six Khaṇḍas or books. They are Ādi, Bhūmi, Brahma, Pātāla, Sṛṣṭi and Uttara Khaṇḍas. Out of these, two books devote special Adhyāyas to the elucidation of many important topics of Vaiṣṇava theology as well as a concise treatment of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life. A critical study of this Purāṇa is essential for understanding the theological basis of the various schools of medieval Vaiṣṇavism, especially of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism. In fact, its greatest value lies in its being thoroughly imbued with the Vaiṣṇava spirit. In consonance with its true nature we find special items of purely Vaiṣṇava faith properly

handled and popularily treated therein. Thus in the 50th Adhyāya of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa is described the Māhātmya of Gopī-candana; the 83rd and 84th Adhyāyas give a popular description of a typical Vaiṣṇava; the 85th Adhyāya describes, with the proper mantras for recitation, the festival called Dolotsava, which is to be celebrated on the Ekādaśī day of the bright half of the Caitra month. It is the Padma-Purāṇa that contains that celebrate Māhātmya of Śrīmad Bhāgavata in Adhyāyas 189 to 194, illustrated with the aid of the well-known anecdote of Dhundhukārī, who attained his final liberation as a direct result of the hearing of Śrīmad Bhāgavata for seven days only.

So much for the Vaiṣṇava element in this Purāṇa. Now coming to the treatment of the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, we find it described twice, one in the Pātāla-Khaṇḍa and then in the Uttara-Khaṇḍa. In the second, there are eight chapters devoted to it from the 272nd to the 279th. Here the very first Adhyāya consists of a highly philosophical praise uttered by Indra to Śrī Kṛṣṇa in which the whole of the celebrated Hiraṇyagarbha-Sūkta has been incorporated, of course, with the necessary linguistic and metrical changes—due to its adoption in a Purāṇic text. The great value of this Stotra lies in presenting a Purāṇic interpretation of a Vedic Sūkta. Another peculiarity of this section lies in the fact that a large portion of the 277th and the 279th Adhyāyas is written in a clear and chaste prose of the well-known Purāṇic type.

The other section occurs in the Pātāla-Khaṇḍa of the Purāṇa and is of extreme value for properly understanding the theological and philosophical conceptions of the medieval Vaiṣṇava sects. This section consists of eight chapters and extends from the 69th Adhyāya to the 77th. The 69th Adhyāya furnishes a highly elaborate and allegorical conception of Vṛndāvana, which is taken to represent upon the surface of this earth that ideal Vṛndāvana—Nitya Vṛndāvana as it is termed—the highest abode of Bhagavān situated even above the far-elevated Vaikuṇṭha.* The city of

* सात्वतां स्थानमूर्धन्यं विष्णोरत्यन्तदुर्लभम् ।
नित्यं वृन्दावनं नाम ब्रह्माण्डोपरि संस्थितम् ।।
पूर्णं ब्रह्मसुखैश्वर्यं नित्यमानन्दमव्ययम् ।
वैकुण्ठादि तदंशांशं स्वयं वृन्दावनं भुवि ।।

—Padma, Pātāla section, 69 Adhyāya.

Mathurā is represented as a lotus of a thousand petals and with strict accuracy the complete circle is divided and sub-divided into, different parts each of which has been described with its presiding deity. The present Vṛndāvana has also been similarly represented in the Brahma-Saṃhitā, one of the famous scriptures of the Pāñcarātra school. The rest of the section has been devoted to the elucidation of the real nature of Rādhā and Her companions—their names, their mystical significance, their relative importance and relation with Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the Rāsa-Līlā, etc. Scholars know that Rādhā, who plays such an important role in the growth of the later Vaiṣṇavism, is conspicuous by Her absence from the pages of the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas, but it is in the Padma as well as in the Brahmavaivarta that we meet with the complete paraphernalia of the Rādhā-cult. Hence the extreme importance of the Padma-Purāṇa in the history and growth of Vaiṣṇavism is quite evident.

The Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa

It is one of the most celebrated Purāṇas containing a detailed description and popular presentation of the charming Līlās of Śrī Kṛṣṇacandra. The Purāṇa as it goes has 4 large sections or Khaṇḍas—viz., (1) Brahma-Khaṇḍa, (2) Prakṛti-Khaṇḍa, (3) Gaṇeśa-Khaṇḍa and (4) Kṛṣṇa-Janma-Khaṇḍa. The last book contains about 129 chapters and thus presents an elaborate and comprehensive account of the great deeds performed by Srī Kṛṣṇa either at Vṛndāvana or at Mathurā and Dvārakā. But the great merit of this Purāṇa lies in its attaching greater importance to the Rādhā element in the Kṛṣṇa-worship. And hence naturally the Vṛndāvana-Līlās have received an elaborate treatment at the hands of the writer, and the figure of Rādhā as painted there emerges out of her hazy associations and vague Surroundings into a living figure of great personal and supreme spiritual charm. In reality the Brahmavaivarta completes the divine picture of Rādhā as portrayed by the cognate Padma-Purāṇa and the two together stand out as the most authoritative texts upon the worship of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with a special leaning towards the Rādhā element therein. Suffice it to say that the later Vaiṣṇava theologians have amply drawn for their materials upon these sections of the Padma and the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa.

The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa

For the study of the philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism this Purāṇa along with Śrīmad Bhāgavata occupies an extremely important place. Though not much in extent and volume (it contains only 126 Adhyāyas, and is thus only one-third of the Bhāgavata), it has supplied the most important materials for the philosophical superstructure of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism. The fact is not unknown to scholars that the great Rāmānujācārya has drawn copiously upon this Purāṇa for the sake of making his philosophical theories tally with the Purāṇic conceptions. Hence the importance of this Purāṇa for a study of the Vaiṣṇava faith.

The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has been divided into six sections or books styled as Aṃśas. The fifth book is entirely devoted to a description of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life. All the important Līlās of Śrī Kṛṣṇa have been presented here in an excellent literary form. The same old and familiar Anuṣtup is there ; but it does not possess that looseness of construction frequently met with in the other Purāṇas, but has got a peculiarly chaste literary ring about it. The writer has done full justice to the life of Śri Kṛṣṇacandra by his impartiality for all Līlās ; he has followed the golden mean by allowing the important events of both the portions of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life in equal scope for their presentation. Thus, the 38 Adhyāyas of this book are of paramount importance for presenting a complete picture of the life of a very busy individual. The mystical Rāsa-Līlā has been described in a particularly charming manner but it is important to note that like the Bhāgavata even here the name of Rādhā is conspicuous by its absence.

Srīmadbhāgavata-Purāṇa.

On the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and for a complete description of His divinely charming Līlās, there is no higher authority than the Bhāgavata. Though the other incarnations have also been treated here, Śrī Kṛṣṇa's Līlās are, in fact, the main theme of this Purāṇa. In print of literary charm and philosophical subtlety, it is indeed equalled by no other Purāṇa. The supreme importance of the Bhāgavata can also be gauged by the host of commentaries and glosses written by those learned scholars of ancient

times who are reckoned by later generations to be the highest authorities on such subjects. The language has got a supreme beauty of its own, and, though at times a bit archaic and hence somewhat difficult, it possesses a uniform dignity of expression, rarely to be met with in the other compositions of the same type. The old critical statement 'विद्यावतां भागवते परीक्षा' has a large element of truth in it, since it is no exaggeration to say that the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa is a veritable touchstone of Shastraic knowledge.

Out of the twelve books or Skandhas as they are called the tenth deals entirely with the Līlās of Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa. This Skandha is not only the longest of all, but covers about one-fourth of the whole of the Bhāgavata. It is divided into two parts, the first part, containing 49 Adhyāyas, taken up entirely with those Līlās of Śrī Kṛṣṇa which centred round Vṛndāvana and Mathurā ; while the second part, consisting of 41 Adhyāyas, deals with the incidents of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's later life connected with Dvārkā and thus in these 90 Adhyāyas we possess information about Śrī Kṛṣṇa in greater detail than in any of the Purāṇas. Despite its possessing a few more Adhyāyas, the Brahmavaivarta cannot surpass the depth and that literary charm which are deservedly associated with the name of the latter Purāṇa. Space forbids us to enter into a detailed analysis of the tenth book ; but we cannot close these notes without remarking that, as the tenth is considered to be the quintessence of the whole of the Bhāgavata, so the five Adhyāyas (29-33) descriptive of that divinely inspired Rāsa-Līlā of Śrī Kṛṣṇa are rightly reckoned as the very quintessence of the whole of the tenth Skandha. The fact is that the Rāsa-pañcādhyāyī of Śrīmad Bhāgavata is a literature by itself, so charming in expression, so deep and subtle in its philosophical contents, so mystical and divine in its entirety that the like of it cannot be found anywhere in the whole range of the vast Sanskrit literature. Another peculiar feature of this book is its abounding in a number of delicious songs mostly sung by the Gopīs in different occasions, the sweetest of the lot being the celebrated Gopī-gīta in the 31st. Adhyāya and the most philosophical and the subtlest being the Śruti-Gīta in the 87th Adhyāya. The presentation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's

Līlās on the whole is, at once simple and charming. Rightly is Samādhi-bhāṣā of Vyāsa considered the most important of the authorities in the Vaiṣṇava sects founded by Śrī Caitanya and Vallabhācārya.*

Conclusion

This humble attempt on the part of the writer will no doubt disclose the fact that there are, due to the emphasis laid upon these aspects, two lines of approach to the chequered history of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as found in those major Purāṇas that devote special books or sections to the proper delineation and subtle analysis of one of the most important, though highly complex, personalities of ancient times. One is in main *theological*, where the author has taken great pains to explain in a lucid way the spiritual meaning underlying incidents and the deep allegory concerning the life-history of Śrī Kṛṣṇa—His present environments, His companions and friends, etc., especially belonging to His earlier life at Vṛndāvana and Gokula. This is the main point in the Kṛṣṇa sections of the Padma and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas, which have been naturally utilized in such Pañcarātra works as Bṛhad Brahma-saṁhitā and others and have also been extensively drawn upon for laying the theological foundations of the medieval Vaiṣṇava schools with a leaning towards the Rādhā element in Kṛṣṇa-worship. The other line of approach is chiefly *philosophical*, where the other elements have been subordinated to stress the philosophical aspects of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and His worship. This is virtually presented in the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas, where the divine aspects of Śrī Kṛṣṇa have been amply brought out in all their subtle beauty and sublime charm. But even here we realize a fine shade of difference in the indebtedness of the later Vaiṣṇava sects to these ancient store-houses of Vaiṣṇava faith and culture. Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism with its preference for the worship of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is more indebted to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa for its philosophic contents than to others and hence Ācārya Rāmānuja shows a considerable partiality for this Purāṇa in the copious extract he has made in

* वेदः श्रीकृष्णवाक्यानि व्याससूत्राणि चैव हि ।
समाधिभाषा व्यासस्य प्रमाणं तच्चतुष्टयम् ॥

support of his philosophical position. On the other hand, Śrīmad Bhāgavata is the mainstay and the supreme authority with those Vaiṣṇava cults which show a preference for the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. And hence it is no wonder that it is the most important scripture of the Caitanya and Vallabha sects of Vaiṣṇavism and naturally it has been accorded there an equal, if not a greater, authority with the well-known Prasthānatraya represented by that spiritual trio, the Vedas, the Brahma-Sūtras and the Bhagavadgītā. If the one school extols the Bhāgavata to be the spotless authority, (श्रीमद्भागवतं प्रमाणममलम्), the other is not far behind it in showering eulogies upon it and in claiming it to be the समाधि-भाषा of Veda-vyāsa. In fact, these schools have their life and being in the supremely spiritual atmosphere created for the benefit and the amelioration of the teeming millions with its emphasis upon gaining the Divine Grace through devotion which the Purāṇa inculcates to be the only panacea for all human ills.*

*न दानं न तपो नेज्या न शौचं न व्रतानि च ।
प्रीयतेऽमलया भक्त्या हरिरन्यद् विडम्बनम् ॥

Śrīmad Bhāgagvata

Note—

KAPĀLA-MOCANA : AN ANCIENT HOLY PLACE

BY

V. RAGHAVAN

In the last issue of the *Purāṇa* (July, 1968), Sri Devendra Handa has presented the textual material, legend and religious significance, geographical location and the archaeological importance of the holy spot known as *Kapāla-mocana*

On the textual side, he has mentioned mainly the Vāmana Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata, and to some extent also Garuḍa, Matsya and Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa which have some references to the place.

I wish to supplement the article with some more data. Stein notices in his Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu (1894) several manuscripts of parts of a text called *Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā* also called *Śrīsaṁhitā* (pp. 210-11), describing the māhātmyas of several holy spots in Kasmir and its neighbourhood. Here, one of the manuscripts (no. 3882) deals with *Kapālamocana.*

In Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, VII. 266, there is mention of an one-eyed Ḍāmara, inimical to king, belonging to the place called *Degrāma*. In his note on the identity of this *Degrāma*, Stein says in his English translation that it is the modern hamlet of *Degrām*, a few hundred yards to the north of "the well-known spring of *Kapālamocana* (marked as 'Nagbal' on the map). Stein has a paragraph on the Tīrtha of Kapālamocana in his Ancient Geography of Kasmir' at the end of his translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. He says here that the Tīrtha marks "the spot where Śiva cleaned himself from the sin attaching to him after the cutting-off of Brahman's head (*Kapāla*). The tīrtha is old because the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* mentions it twice."

In the last mentioned poetic account of Kashmirian shrines and sacred places, (*Kāvyamālā 61*), Jayaratha mentions *Kapāla-mocana* twice, in X. 249 and XIV. iii ; in the former context, it is mentioned among holy places on the Vitastā in the chapter on Śiva Vijayeśvara whose shrine also Kalhaṇa refers to often (I. 38 et. seq.). In the latter context, Kapālamocana is mentioned as being near Kapaṭeśvara. Are there two holy places of the name *Kapāla-mocana* ?

In Memoriam

Dr. SAMPURNANAND

Dr. Sampurnanand shed his mortal remains and passed away from our midst on 10th January, 1969.

Varanasi has lost a great citizen who always thought for the revival of its tradition. Among his notable services he restored the ancient name of Varanasi and arranged for the repair of Ghats. He revived the ancient seat of Samskrit learning by raising the Samskrit College to the Varanaseya Samskrit University.

He was a scholar and had chosen education as his profession but patriotism in his heredity drew him towards active politics. His ancestor Lala Dheya Ram was a minister of Raja Balwant Singh of Banaras, who carved out an important Hindu State during the decline of the Muslim rule of Oudh.

Dr. Sampurnanand's great grand father Bakshi Sadanand was a Dewan of Raja Chet Singh and fought by his side with Warren Hastings. Dr. Sampurnanandji had great regard for Banaras Darbar and always tried to keep up the old tradition of his family.

Outspokeness and strict adherence to principles won him great regard from his friends and opponents alike, though at times he had to face great inconvenience and had to pay very high price for his principles.

He was one of the founder Trustees of the All India Kashi Raj Trust and always took keen and active interest in its affairs. It will be difficult for the Trust to fill the void created by this irrepairable loss.

We all pray that may Lord Vishwanath grant him eternal peace (मोक्ष) about which he always spoke during his last days.

—RAMESH CHANDRA DE

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(JULY-DECEMBER, 1968)

PURĀṆA WORK

1. *Publication of the Vāmana Purāṇa Edition and Translation.*

The publication of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa was completed during the first quarter of this year (1968), as has already been mentioned with details in the last review in 'Purāṇa' X, 2, pp. 192 ff. The two translation volumes—the English translation with the Sanskrit text and the Hindi translation with the Sanskrit text—were also published in October on the occasion of the 24th Session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Varanasi.

Both the translation volumes contain, besides the Sanskrit text and the translation, the following matter also.

1. Introduction containing a general study on the Purāṇas and specially on the Vāmana Purāṇa, and also discussion on the problems of translation of the Purāṇas and a review of the translations and adaptations of the Purāṇas in various regions and languages of India and abroad.
2. Adhyāya-Concordance of the constituted text with the Veṅk. edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa.
3. Detailed Adhyāya-contents in English and Hindi.
4. Appendices as follows:
    1. Subject-concordance of the Vāmana Purāṇa with the other Purāṇas and the two Epics.
    2. Lists of the episodes, stotras and vrata-upavāsas mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa.
    3. Lists of the proper names of persons—men and sages, Gods, Demigods and Asuras—mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa.

काशिराज-न्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर, १९६८)

पुराणकार्यम्

वामनपुराणस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणस्यानुवादसंस्करणयोश्च प्रकाशनम्

वामनपुराणस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणस्य प्रकाशनं, यथा निर्दिष्टं विस्तरेण पूर्वस्मिन्नङ्के पुराणपत्रिकायाः (१०. २, पृ. १९२ इत्यादिषु), १९६८ वर्षस्य प्रथमचरणे एव पूर्तिमगात् । द्वावनुवादभागावपि (संस्कृतपाठसहित आङ्गल-भाषानुवादः, संस्कृतपाठसहितो हिन्दीभाषानुवादश्च) अक्टूबरमासे अखिलभारतीय-प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य वाराणस्यां सम्पन्ने चतुर्विंशत्यधिवेशनावसरे प्रकाशितौ बभूवतुः ।

वामनपुराणस्यैतावनुवादभागौ संस्कृतपाठानुवादाभ्यामतिरिक्तमधोलिखित-विषयमपि आदधतः ।

१. भूमिका-यत्र सामान्यतः पुराणसम्बन्धि विशेषतश्च वामनपुराणविषयक-मध्ययनं प्रस्तूयते, तथा च पुराणानामनुवादस्य समस्या विचारिता, विभिन्नभारतीयभाषासु स्थलेषु च अन्यत्र च पुराणानाम् अनुवादादीनां विवरणं प्रस्तुतं वर्तते ।

२. समीक्षितपाठस्य वामनपुराणस्य वेङ्कटेश्वरसंस्करणेन सह अध्याय-संवादः ।

३. विस्तृताध्यायविषयसूचिके आङ्गलहिन्दीभाषयोः ।

४. परिशिष्टानि यथा—

   १. वामनपुराणस्य विषयैः सह पुराणान्तराणां महाभारत-रामायणयोश्च विषयैः सह संवादः ।

   २. वामनपुराणे निर्दिष्टानां उपाख्यान-स्तोत्र-व्रत-उपवासादीनां सूची ।

   ३. व्यक्तिनामसूचिका—वामनपुराणे निर्दिष्टानां मनुष्य-ऋषि-देवता-देवयोनि-असुरप्रभृतीनाम् ।

4. Lists of the geographical names in the Vāmana P. with their scientific Latin names and descriptive notes on the flora.

5. Verse-index.

The three Volumes of the Vāmana Purāṇa, Viz. the Critical Edition Volume, the English translation volume and the Hindi translation Volume, are of the demy quarto size, and contain *i–lxx* + 1–778 + 1–114 + 1–97 pages, *i-lii* + 1–543 + 1-70 + 1–97 pages and *i-xl* + 1-465 + 1–55 + 1-97 pages respectively. It is hoped that these volumes will prove useful for the study and research on this Purāṇa.

Release of the Vāmana Purāṇa Volumes

The above-mentioned three Volumes of the Vāmana Purāṇa were ceremonially released in an impressive function held for the purpose at the Shivala centre of the All India Kashiraj Trust in Varanasi on the 13th October 1968. The function was presided by Dr. R. N. Daṇḍekar, General Secretary of the All India Oriental Conference. Besides the president of the function and H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji (Chairman of the All India Kashiraj Trust) Dr. A. N. Upadhye (General President of the A. I. O. C.), Maharajakumar Dr. Raghubir Singh Ji, Pt. Giridharilal Ji Mehta, Shri Raghunath Singh Ji (Trustees of the All India Kashiraj Trust), Dr. A. D. Pusalker (Curator of the B. O. R. I. Poona), Acharya Hazari Prasad Ji Dvivedi (Rector of the Banaras Hindu University), Prof. Raja Ram Shastri, (V. C., Kashi Vidyapith), Pt. Rajeshvar Shastri Dravida (Principal of the Sanga-Veda-Vidyalaya, Varanasi), Rai Krishna Das Ji (Director, Kalabhavana, B H. U.) and other distinguished persons of the city, such as Shri Shyam Mohan Agrawala (Mayor of the Varanasi Corporation) and Shri Satyendra Kumar Gupta

४. वामनपुराणे समागतानां भौगोलिकनामसूच्यः आधुनिकतम-वैज्ञानिकलैटिननामसहिताः, वनस्पतिनामस्सु आङ्गलभाषायां संक्षिप्तटिप्पणीयुताश्च ।

५. श्लोकार्धसूची ।

वामनपुराणस्यैते त्रयो भागाः, समीक्षितसंस्करणभागः, आङ्गलभाषानुवादभागः हिन्दीभाषानुवादभागश्च-डेमी क्वार्ट साइज इत्येतदाकारेण मुद्रिताः सन्ति, येषां क्रमेण *i-lxx* + 1 – 778 + 1 – 114 + 1 – 97 पृष्ठा ; *i-lvi* + 1 – 543 + 1 – 70 + 1—97 पृष्ठाः, तथा *i–xl* + 1–465 + 1–55+1—97 पृष्ठाः भवन्ति । आशास्ति यदेते भागा इदं पुराणमाधिकृत्य शोधाध्ययनोपयोगिनो भविष्यन्तीति ।

वामनपुराणग्रन्थत्रयस्य प्रकाशः

उपरिनिर्दिष्टं वामनपुराणस्य भागत्रयं विधिपूर्वकं प्रकाशमानीतम् । एतदर्थमेको भव्यमहोत्सवः १३ अक्टूबर १९६८ दिवसे वाराणस्यां सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य शिवालाकेन्द्रे आयोजित आसीत् । सभायाः अध्यक्षपदमखिल-भारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य प्रधानसचिवैः डा० आर. एन. दाण्डेकरमहोदयै-रलङ्कृतम् आसीत् । अन्ये च ये सभायामुपस्थिता आसन् तेषु काशिनरेशाः श्रीमहाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयाः (सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्याध्यक्षाः) डा. ए.एन. उपाध्येमहोदयः (अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासमितेरध्यक्षः), श्रीमहाराज-कुमारः डा० रघुबीरसिंहमहोदयः, श्री पं० गिरधारीलाल मेहतामहोदयः, श्री रघुनाथसिंहमहोदयः (काशिराजन्यासस्य सदस्याः), डा० ए.डी. पुसाल्करमहोदयः (पूनायाः भण्डारकरप्राच्यशोधसंस्थानस्य क्यूरेटरमहोदयः), आचार्यश्रीहजारीप्रसाद-द्विवेदिमहोदयः (काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्यरैक्टरमहोदयः), श्री पं० राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविडः (वाराणसीस्थसाङ्गवेदविद्यालयाध्यक्षः), श्रीरायकृष्णदासमहोदयः (कलाभवनसञ्चालकः, का. हि. वि. वि.) प्रो० राजारामशास्त्री (उपकुलपतिः काशीविद्यापीठस्य) । अन्येऽपि वाराणसीनगरस्य विशिष्टमहानुभावाः, श्री श्याममोहन अग्रवालः (वाराणसीनगरमहापालिकायाः महापौरः) श्री सत्येन्द्र-

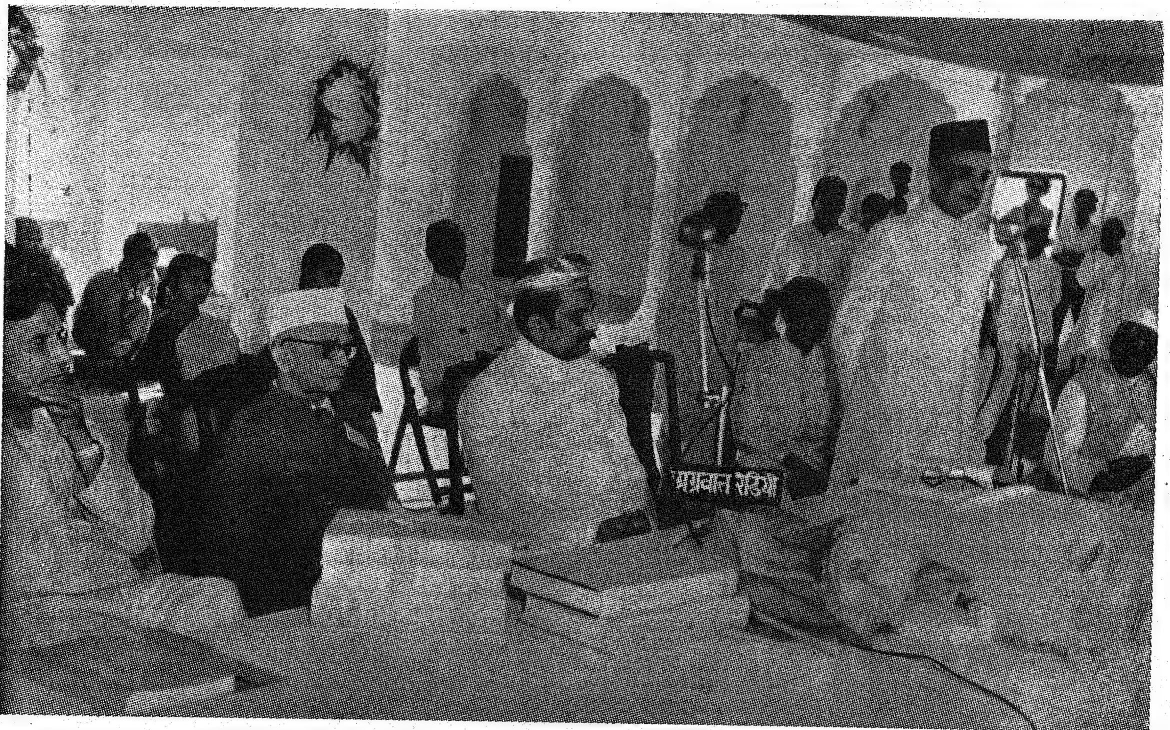
(Editor of the Hindi Daily 'Āj.) attended the function. A large number of the delegates to the Varanasi Session of the All-India Oriental Conference also were present. The function started with the singing of the ślokas of the *Vāmana stuti* from the Vāmana Purāṇa, after which Maharajkumar Dr. Rughubir Singh in his speech welcomed the president Dr. Dandekar and other learned guests.

Dr. Dandekar in his speech greatly appreciated the three published Volumes of the Vāmana Purāṇa and thanked the Kashiraj Trust for its Valuable undertaking. His Highness in his speech traced the circumstances which led to the undertaking of the Purāṇa work by the Kashiraj Trust some 14 years ago and referred to a meeting between himself and Dr. Dandekar at that time when he (Dr. Dandekar) had also advised for taking up the Purāṇa work by the Kashirāj Trust. His Highness also expressed his appreciation of the hard labour which the staff of the Purāṇa Department of the Kashiraj Trust had put in for bringing out these three Volumes in time. His Highness then presented the copies of these Volumes to Dr. Dandekar. Copies of the three Volumes were also presented to the Editor, Shri Ananda Swarup Gupta, and to Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai who was in-charge of the printing and the proof-reading. In the end Shri Giridharilal Mehta thanked His Highness for taking so much interest in the Purāṇas and for steering the work of the Vāmana Purāṇa to successful and timely conclusion. He also thanked Dr. R. N. Dandekar for presiding the function in spite of his being so busy in the work of the Conference. The audience was also thanked for their participation and co-operation.

Resolution by the All-India Oriental Conference :

The All India Oriental Conference in its Varanasi Session has passed the following resolution on the publication of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa and the Translation Volumes by the All India Kashiraj Trust :

> "The All India Oriental Conference, meeting in its twentyfourth Session at Varanasi, conveys to the Kashiraj Trust its felicitations on the recent publica-



Shri Giridharilal Mehta, Trustee, All-India Kashiraj Trust, thanking the guests.

कुमार गुप्तः ('आज' दैनिकसमाचारपत्रस्य सम्पादकः) इत्यादयः उल्लेखनीयाः। तथा अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासमितेः वाराणसी अधिवेशने आगताः बहवः प्रतिनिधयोऽपि उपस्थिता आसन्। महोत्सवस्य समारम्भः वामनपुराणस्य वामनस्तुतेः श्लोकानां सुमधुरोच्चारणेन अभूत्। तदनन्तरं डा० रघुवीरसिंहमहानुभावेन स्वीयभाषणे अध्यक्षमहाशयानामन्येषामतिथिभूतानां विदुषां च स्वागतं कृतम्।

डा० दाण्डेकरमहोदयैः स्वभाषणे वामनपुराणस्य प्रकाशितं भागत्रयं बहुशः प्रशंसितम्, काशिराजन्यासस्योपयोगिने कार्याय धन्यवादाश्च व्याहृताः। तत्र भवद्भिः काशिनरेशमहाभागैश्च स्वीये भाषणे चतुर्दशवर्षपूर्वं काशिराजन्यासद्वारा पुराणकार्यस्यारम्भाय ये प्रेरकाः हेतवः आसन् तेषां विवरणं दत्तं, तथा च डा० दाण्डेकरमहोदयेन सह तस्मिन् काले तस्या वार्तायाः अपि विवरणं दत्तं यदा तेनापि (दाण्डेकरमहोदयेनापि) न्यासद्वारा पुराणसम्बन्धिकार्यं कर्तुं समर्थितम् आसीत्, तत्र भवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः न्यासस्य पुराणविभागस्थकार्यकर्तृभिः वामनपुराणस्य भागत्रयस्य नियतसमये प्रकाशनार्थं कृतस्य कठिनपरिश्रमस्याप्याशंसा कृता। तत्र भवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः भागत्रयं डा० दाण्डेकरमहोदयाय समर्पितम्। इदं भागत्रयं सम्पादकाय श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तमहोदयाय प्रकाशनप्रूफसंशोधनादिकर्मणां भारवाहिने डा० गंगासागररायमहोदयाय च तत्रभवद्भिः महाराजैः समर्पितम्। समाप्तौ श्रीगिरिधारी-लालमेहतामहोदयः तत्रभवते काशिनरेशाय पुराणकार्ये रुचिप्रदर्शनाय तथा वामनपुराणस्य समये प्रकाशनार्थं प्रेरणायै धन्यवादान् दत्तवान्। डा० दाण्डेकर-महोदयायापि तेन अधिवेशनकर्मणि व्यस्तोऽपि भूत्वा उत्सवस्याध्यक्षता स्वीकृतेति हेतोः धन्यवादाः प्रदत्ताः।

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासमित्या पारितः प्रस्तावः

वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य तस्यानुवादयोश्च प्रकाशनमधिकृत्य प्रकाशनोपरि अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्या समित्याः स्वीये वाराणसी-सम्मेलने अधोनिर्दिष्टः प्रस्तावः पारितः —

वाराणस्यां प्रवर्त्तितं अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य चतुर्विंशति-तममधिवेशनं काशिराजन्यासेन प्रकाशितस्य वामनपुराणस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणस्य

tion of the *Critical Edition of the Vāman Purāṇa.* The Conference wishes to record its high appreciation for the competent manner in which the Editor, Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, has tackled the various text-critical problems which his work involved. Further it notes with satisfaction that the *Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa* is brought out with Hindi and English translation in separate Volumes. Al-together this *Edition* augurs well for the Critical Editions of other Purāṇas, which are under active preparation under the auspicious of the Trust.

The Conference is glad that the Government of India and Uttar Pradesh have been rendering financial help to the Trust for the important research project, and hope that the project will not have to languish for want of adequate funds."

The authorities of the Kashiraj Trust are grateful to the A. I. O. C. and specially to Dr. Dandekar for this encouraging and appreciative resolution, and hope that the Conference in future also will continue to co-operate in this useful Purāṇic undertaking of the Trust.

Kurma-Purāṇa-Work.

Now that the Vāmana Purāṇa work has been completed, we have taken up the work of the Kūrma-Purāṇa edition and translation. For the critical edition we have collated the following manuscripts of the Kūrma Purāṇa up till now :

1. No. 41 of 1881-1882 from the B. O. R. I., Poona. Devanāgarī Dated Saṁvat 1615 (A. D. 1558).
2. No. 5589 from the V. V. R. I. Hoshiarpur. Devanāgarī Dated Saṁvat 1679 (A. D. 1622).
3. E. 3346 from the India office, London, Devanāgarī.
4. PM. 2418, I & II (two volumes) from the Adyar Library, Madras. Devanāgarī.

अभिनन्दनं करोति। इदं सम्मेलनं वामनपुराणस्य संपादकाय श्रीआनन्दस्वरूप-गुप्ताय अपि सुयोग्यरीत्या पाठ-समीक्षासम्बन्धिसमस्यानां समाधानार्थं भूरिशो धन्यवादान् वितरति। अग्रे संतोषस्य विषयो यत् पाठ-समीक्षात्मकसंस्करणाति-रिक्तं हिन्दी-आङ्गलभाषानुवादाभ्यां सह पृथक् ग्रन्थयोरपि प्रकाशनं जातम्। इदं संस्करणं न्यासान्तर्गतसम्पाद्यमानानाम् अन्यपुराणानां पाठसमीक्षासंस्करणानां प्रकाशने प्रेरकं भविष्यति।

सम्मेलनं प्रसन्नतामनुभवति यद् उत्तरप्रदेशीयशासनेन भारतशासनेन च न्यासाय आर्थिकसाहाय्यं प्रदीयते आशास्ते च अर्थकृच्छ्रेण हेतुना कार्यं कदापि नावरुद्धो भविष्यतीति।

काशिराजन्यासस्याधिकारिणः अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनं विशेषतः डा० दाण्डेकरमहोदयं प्रति अस्य उत्साहवर्धकस्य प्रशंसात्मकस्य च प्रस्तावस्य पारणाय धन्यवादं ददति, आशास्ते च यद् भविष्ये अपि सम्मेलनं न्यासस्यास्मिन् उपयोगि पुराणकर्मणि सहयोगं दास्यतीति।

कूर्मपुराणकार्यम्

सम्प्रति वामनपुराणकार्याणां समाप्तौ कूर्मपुराणस्य सम्पादनमनुवादकार्यं च समारब्धम्। अद्यावधि कूर्मपुराणस्याधो निर्दिष्टा हस्तलेखाः संवादिताः —

१. सं. ४१ ऑफ १८८१-१८८२। पुण्यपत्तनस्थभण्डारकर-प्राच्यविद्याशोधसंस्थानतः देवनागरीहस्तलेखः। कालः संवत् १६१५ (१५५८ ई०)

२. सं. ५५८९। होशियारपुरस्थात् विश्वेश्वरानन्दवैदिकशोध संस्थानात् देवनागरीलेखः। कालः संवत् १६७९ (ई० १६२२)।

३. ई. ३३४६। लण्डननगरस्थ-इण्डिया-आफिस इत्यतः देवनागरी-हस्तलेखः।

४. अड्यार लाइब्रेरी मद्रासतः पी-एम. २४१८ (भागद्वयात्मकम्) देवनागरीहस्तलेखः।

The Following manuscripts are being collated :

1. No. 2845 (Mycrofilm copy) from the Dacca Universitys Bengali script.
2. No. 398 from the Asiatic society, Calcutta, Bengali Script.
3. A Palm-leaf MS. from the Sringeri Math, Mysore (South India). Nandi Nāgarī script.
4. A Palm-leaf Granth MS. Purchased from Madras.

We have also the following MSS of the Kūrma Purāṇa with us, which have not yet been collated :—

1. MS. No. 3390 (Microfilm) from the Dacca University, Bengali script. We are preparing here a photo-stat copy from this microfilm.
2. A photo-stat copy of the MS. No. 1039 of the Harvard University Library. Devanāgarī.
3. MS. No. E. 3345 from the India Offiee, London, Devanāgarī. Dated Samvat 1856 (A. 1799).

The lists of the geographical and personal Names from the Kūrma Purāṇa are also being prepared.

'Purāṇa' Bulletin

Index to the articles published in the last five Volumes (VI-X) is also being published as the supplement of Vol. X. 2. The articles and the topics of these Volumes have been arranged on the model of the Index to the first five Volumes (1-V) which was published as the supplement to Vol. V. 2. It also includes the author-Index arranged alphabetically.

We intend to publish the next July issue (Vol. XI, No. 2) as the 'Vāmana-Purāṇa Number'. It will mostly contain the studies on the Vāmana-Purāṇa and the Vāmana Avatāra. The critical notes on the constituted text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa will also be published in this July issue. Thus this issue will be a kind of supplement to the already published critical edition of the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

अधोनिर्दिष्टानां चतुर्णां हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादः क्रियमाणो वर्तते—

१. ढाकाविश्वविद्यालयस्य २८४५ संख्याकः बंगलिपिहस्तलेखः (माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतिः) ।

२. एशियाटिक सोसाइटी, कलकत्ता, इत्यस्य संख्या ३९८, बंगलिपि-हस्तलेखः ।

३. श्रृङ्गेरीमठ, मैसूरतः ताडपत्रहस्तलेखः ; नन्दिनागरीलिपिः ।

४. मद्रासनगरात् क्रीतः ग्रन्थलिप्यां ताडपत्रहस्तलेखः ।

अधोनिर्दिष्टा अद्यावधि असंवादिताः हस्तलेखाः अपि वर्तन्तेऽत्र ।

१. ढाकाविश्वविद्यालयतः प्राप्तः ३३९० संख्याकः बंगलिपि हस्तलेखः (माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतिः)। वयमस्य हस्तलेखस्य अत्र फोटोस्टैट प्रतिं कर्तुं प्रयतामहे।

२. हारवर्ड यूनिवर्सिटी पुस्तकालयतः प्राप्तः १०३९ संख्याकः हस्त-लेखः। फोटोस्टैटप्रतिः। देवनागरीलिपिः।

३. इण्डिया आफिस-लण्डनतः प्राप्तः ई० ३३४५ संख्याकः देवनागरी-हस्तलेखः। तिथ्यङ्कितः संवत् १८५६ (ई० १७९९)।

४. अड्यार लाइब्रेरी मद्रासतः प्राप्तः उडिया लिप्यां ७५।३९ संख्याकः हस्तलेखः।

कूर्मपुराणस्य पाठसंवादातिरिक्तं भौगोलिकस्थानसूची, व्यक्तिनामसूची, पशुपक्ष्यादिसूची चापि निर्मीयन्ते।

'पुराणम्' पत्रिका

गतपञ्चवर्षेषु प्रकाशितानां लेखानां सूची अपि दशमभागस्य द्वितीयाङ्कस्य परिशिष्टरूपेण प्रकाश्यमाना वर्तते। एषा सूची पञ्चमभागस्य द्वितीयाङ्कस्य परिशिष्ट-रूपेण प्रकाशितायाः सूच्याः सरणिमनुसरति। अस्यामक्षरक्रमेण संकलिता लेखकसूची अपि वर्तते।

आगामि-जुलाई अङ्कं (XI . 2) वयं वामनपुराणाङ्करूपेण प्रकाशयितु-मिच्छामः। अस्मिन्नङ्के विशेषतः वामनपुराणसम्बन्धिनः वामनावतारसंबन्धिनश्च लेखाः वामनपुराणपाठसम्बन्धिन्यः समीक्षात्मकटिप्पण्योऽपि प्रकाशिताः भवेयुः। इत्थमिदमङ्कं वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य परिशिष्टं भविष्यति।

Help given by the Purāṇa Deptt. to Research Scholars

Research scholars occasionally seek help from the Purāṇa Department of the Kashiraj Trust for supplying them necessary data and bibliography for their Purāṇic dissertations. The following research scholars may be noted in this connection :—

(1) Śrimatī Usha Satyavrata, M. A., Ph. D., Lecturer n Sanskrit, Delhi University, who had been working on the Matsya-Purāṇa for her D. Litt. Degree, changed her subject as the study of the Vāmana Purāṇa, when the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa was brought out by the Kashiraj Trust. She is a U. G. C. Senior Research fellow. She came to our Purāṇa Department in last September and worked on a Kashmirian MS. (कारा. of our Critical Apparatus) of the Vāmana Purāṇa under the guidance of Shri Anand Swarup Gupta for more than a week.

(2) Shri J. L. Sharma of the Birla Public School, Pilani (Rajasthan), who is carrying on his research on Srīmad-bhāgavata under the supervision of Dr. S. K. Gupta, Reader of the Sanskrit Department, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, has requested Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, under the instructions of his supervisor, to supply him information about the books and matter worth-knowing. The required information has been supplied to him.

(3) Shri Cornella Church, Bethesda, Maryland, U. S A., wrote to Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. of Sanskrit, Madras University, for suggestions on bibliographic material for a dissertation on the subject of the story of the Yugas, or four Cosmic Ages, as found in the Purāṇas. Dr. Raghavan has forwarded this letter to the Purāṇa Department here for sending the required suggestions, which have been directly sent to the above-mentioned scholar in U. S. A. from the Purāṇa Department.

(4) Shri Mātā Prasad Tripathi, Research scholar, Gorakhpur University, working on the historical aspect of the Śākta-cult has requested in his letter of 22. 11. 68 to supply him the reprint of Shri Anand Swarup Gupta's

शोधच्छात्रेभ्यः पुराणविभागद्वारा कृतं साहाय्यम्

समये समये शोधच्छात्राः पुराणविषयकशोधग्रन्थलेखनाय काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागात् ग्रन्थसूची, तथ्यादिविषये प्रश्नान् पृच्छन्ति विवरणं च याचन्ते। अस्मिन्संदर्भे अधोनिर्दिष्टाः छात्रा उल्लेखार्हाः—

(१) श्रीमती उषा सत्यव्रत, एम. ए. पी-एच. डी., दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागे अध्यापिका। एषा महानुभावा मत्स्यपुराणमधिकृत्य शोधकार्यं कुर्वती आसीत्। किन्तु न्यासद्वारा वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य प्रकाशनानन्तरं सा पूर्व-विषयं त्यक्त्वा वामनपुराणस्य विषयं स्वीकृतवती। सा विश्वविद्यालय-अनुदान-आयोगस्य वरिष्ठा शोधछात्राऽस्ति। गतसितम्बरमासे सा पुराणविभागे आगता आसीत् सप्ताहं यावत् श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तस्य निर्देशने काश्मीरीहस्तलेख (पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य 'कारा' हस्तलेख) विषये कार्यं कृतवती।

(२) बिरलापब्लिकस्कूल पिलानी, इत्यत्रस्थः श्री जे. एल. शर्मा-महोदयः राजस्थानविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृताध्यापकस्य डा० एस. के. गुप्त-महोदयस्य निर्देशने श्रीमद्भागवतविषयमधिकृत्य कार्यं करोति। सः उपयोगि-ग्रन्थानां विवरणार्थं याचितवान्। आवश्यकी सामग्री तस्मै प्रेषिता।

(३) बेथेस्डा, मेरीलैण्ड, यू. एस. ए. इत्यस्थः श्रीकार्निलाचर्च महोदयः मद्रासविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षं डा० राघवन् महोदयं पौराणिकयुगव्य-वस्थाविषयकस्य शोधग्रन्थनिमित्तं ग्रन्थसूचीप्रदानाय प्रार्थितवान्। डा० राघवन् महोदयः तस्य पत्रं पुराणविभागे प्रेषितवान्, अमेरिका देशवास्तव्याय तस्मै विवरणं प्रेषितम्।

(४) गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालये श्रीमाताप्रसादत्रिपाठिनामकः शोधछात्रः शाक्तसम्प्रदायस्य ऐतिहासिकपक्षविषये शोधं करोति। सः स्वीये २२.११.६८

article on 'Conception of Sarasvatī in the Purāṇas' published in '*Purāṇa*' Vol. IV, Part I (January, 1962) for the purpose.

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana

During the last week of the bright half of the month of Kārtika, from Oct. 30 to Nov. 5 the complete text of the Garuḍa Purāṇa was recited in the morning and the *Pravacana* on it was given in the evening by Pt. Visvanath Shastri Datar of the Sāṅga Veda Vidyālaya, Varanasi, in the Padmanabha temple of Ramnagar.

Purāṇa-Goṣṭhī

A *Purāṇa-Goṣṭhī* is arranged every year on the occasion of the Vyāsa Pūrṇimā. On the occasion of the last Vyāsa Pūrṇimā the *Purāṇa-Goṣṭhī* was arranged at the Shivala centre of the Trust, in the morning of the 9th July, 1968. It was presided by His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, and was attended by a number of Professors and Scholars of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University and the Banaras Hindu University and also by some local Sanskrit Pandits of Varanasi. After the *Maṅgalā-caraṇa* a report of the work of the Purāṇa Department for the year (i. e. since the last Purāṇa-goṣṭhī in July, 1967) was read and discussed. The Volume of the critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa was, then, placed before the scholars present and they approved and appreciated it. A short discussion on the translation of the Vāmana Purāṇa, which was then in the Press, also followed. Dr. S. Bhattacharya, Head of the Sanskrit Department of the B. H. U., and Pt. Hariram Shukla, Professor of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University, took keen interest in the discussion. After the Goṣṭhī the Prasāda was distributed.

Veda-Pārāyaṇa

In order to popularise the Vedic recitation H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji organised the Pārāyaṇa (i.e. recitation of the complete text) of the Veda. The Pārāyaṇa of the *Kāṇva Śākhā* of the Śukla-Yajurveda by memory was done during the bright half of the last month of Āṣāḍha by Pt. Ramchandra

दिनाङ्किते पत्रे श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तस्य Conception of Sarasvatī नामकस्य लेखस्य (VI.1) प्रतिं याचितवान्। तस्मै मुद्रणप्रतिः प्रेषिता।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

कार्तिकमासस्य शुक्लपक्षस्यान्तिमे सप्ताहे (अक्टूबर ३०–नवम्बर ५) गरुडपुराणस्य पूर्णः पाठः पद्मनाभ मन्दिरे जातः। अस्योपरि साङ्गवेदविद्यालयीयैः श्रीविश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारमहोदयैः प्रवचनं कृतम्।

पुराणगोष्ठी

प्रतिवर्षं व्यासपूर्णिमावसरे पुराणगोष्ठी आयोजिता भवति। गतव्यासपूर्णिमावसरे ९ जुलाई १९६८ दिनाङ्के प्रातः काले न्यासस्य शिवालाकेन्द्रे पुराणगोष्ठी आयोजिता आसीत्। अस्याः गोष्ठ्या अध्यक्षता तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः कृता। अस्यां गोष्ठ्यां वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य तथा हिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयस्य बहवः अध्यापकाः केचिद् स्थानीयाः विद्वांसश्च उपस्थिता आसन्। मङ्गलाचरणानन्तरं पुराणविभागस्य वार्षिकं कार्यविवरणं (गतपुराणगोष्ठीतः आरभ्य वर्तमानपुराणगोष्ठीं यावत्) पठितं विचारितं च। तदनन्तरं वामनपुराणस्य प्रकाशितं पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं विदुषां पुरतः प्रस्तुतं तैः विवेचितं प्रशंसितं च। वामनपुराणस्यानुवादविषयेऽपि विमर्शो जातः यस्मिन् हिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयीयः डा० सिद्धेश्वरभट्टाचार्यः, संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयीयः श्रीहरिरामशुक्लश्च विशेषरुचिं दर्शितवन्तौ।

वेदपारायणम्

वेदपाठस्य प्रचारार्थं तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशाः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयाः वेदानां पारायणस्यायोजनं कुर्वन्ति। स्मृत्याधारेण शुक्लयजुर्वेदस्य काण्वशाखायाः पारायणं गताषाढमासस्य शुक्लपक्षे पं. रामचन्द्राजहंसमहोदयेन

Rajahaṁsa from 26 June to 10 July, 1968. On the successful conclusion of the Pārāyaṇa the reciter was awarded a certificate of merit and the usual dakṣiṇā by His Highness.

Vedic Yajñas—Paurṇamāsa and Darśa

The ancient institution of the *Śrauta-Yajñas* which had played so prominent a part in the life of our ancient forefathers, has now almost fallen into oblivion, but it deserves to be revived and preserved, as it is the most important and the oldest institution of the ancient culture of India. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Siṅgh, who is a sincere devotee of the Vedi c culture, deserves our congratulations for patronising the performance of the two important Śrauta-Yajñas, viz. the *Paurṇamāsa* and the *Darśa.* The Paurṇamāsa Yāga was preformed in the morning of 10th December and the Darśa-iṣṭi was performed on the 19th and 20 Dec. in the morning (i. e. on the Amāvasya and pratipadā of the month of Pauṣa) in the Ramnagar Fort.

Both the *Yāgas* were performed stricly according to the Vedic sacrificial rules prescribed by the Lāṭyāyana and the Kātyāyan Śrauta Sūtras. The *Yajña-vedi* and the five kuṇḍas for the five fires (Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya, Dakṣiṇāgni, Sabhya, and the Āvasathya) were prepared with accurate measurement as prescribed in the Sulba-sūtras. A chart showing the exact position of the *vedi* and the five *Agnis* together with the detailed procedure containing 86 items was cyclostyled and the copies were supplied to the scholars present.

The following acted as the yajamāna and the priests of both these yāgas :—

Yajamāna	—	Shri Diksita Ṛiṣisankar Tripathi Somayājin with his wife.
Hotṛ	—	Pt. Visvanath Deva Ghanapāṭhī.
Adhvaryu	—	Pt. Sivaram Tripathi.
Agnīdh	—	Pt. Dinakar Phadake.
Sadasya	—	Pt. Balakrshna Bhaṭṭa Vājapeyin.
Brahmā	—	Pt. Harirama Trivedi

२६ जूनतः १० जुलाई १९६८ यावत् कृतम्। पारायणसमाप्तौ पाठकर्त्रे प्रशंसापत्रं, दक्षिणा च तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः प्रदत्ता।

वैदिक यज्ञः—पौर्णमासो दर्शश्च

श्रौतयज्ञानां प्राचीना परिपाटी या प्राचीनकाले अस्माकं पूर्वजानां जीवने प्रभावशालिनी आसीत् सा सम्प्रति लुप्तप्राया जाता। किन्तु अस्याः पुनरुज्जीवनमावश्यकम्। यतस्त्वेषा प्राचीना महत्त्वपूर्णा संस्थासीत्। वैदिकसंस्कृतेः पोषकाः समर्थकाश्च काशिनरेशाः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयाः धन्यवादार्हाः यैः द्वौ महत्त्वपूर्णौ श्रौतयज्ञौ-पौर्णमासदर्शौ गतदिसम्बरमासे कारितौ। पौर्णमासेष्टिः दिसम्बरमासस्य १० दिनाङ्कस्य प्रातःकाले कृता। दर्शेष्टिश्चदि १९, २० दिनाङ्कयोः (अमावस्या तिथ्यां प्रदिपदि च) सम्पन्ना।

उभौ यज्ञौ पूर्णरूपेण सावधानतया च लाट्यायन-कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्राभ्यां विहितया पद्धत्या एव सम्पन्नौ। शुल्बसूत्रविहितमापानुसारतः वेदिः, पञ्च (आहवनीय-गार्हपत्य-दक्षिण-सभ्य-आवसथ्य) आग्नीनां कुण्डानि च निर्मितानि आसन्। वेद्याः पञ्चाग्निनां च स्थानसूचकचित्रेण सह षडशीति विषयसंवलितस्य विवरणस्य साइक्लोस्टाइल्ड प्रतिः ब्रह्मचारिभ्यः दर्शकेभ्यश्च प्रदत्ता आसीत्।

उभयोर्यज्ञयोः अधोनिर्दिष्टाः सज्जनाः यजमानः पुरोहिताश्चासन्।

यजमानः—सपत्नीकः सोमयाजी श्रीदीक्षितऋषिशंकरत्रिपाठी। होता-पण्डितविश्वनाथदेवः घनपाठी। अध्वर्युः—पण्डितशिवरामत्रिपाठी। आग्नीधः—पण्डितदिनकरफड़के। सदस्यः—पण्डितबालकृष्णभट्टवाजपेयी। ब्रह्मा-पण्डितहरिरामत्रिवेदी।

After some preliminary rites the sacrificial fire was produced by means of the friction of the two *araṇis* (two pieces of the wood of a śamī tree) and with the chanting of the Vedic mantras. On the occasion of the *Darśa-Yāga* six cows were milked in the evening of the 19th Dec. (Amāvasyā) and again in the early morning of the next day (pratipadā) according to the Śrauta-rites. Both the Yāgas were performed under the supervision of Pt. Rajeshvar Sastri Dravida. His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh and the young Maharajakumar sat by the side of the Āhavanīya fire throughout the performance of the two *Yāgas*. The Dakṣiṇā was given to the yajamāna and the priests in kind (corn). At the conclusion of the *Darśa-Yāga* the yajña-vibhūti was distributed to the audience. It was really an inspiring and ennobling sight to watch these two sacrifices being performed according to the ancient Vedic injunctions. Even the minutest details were correctly performed with recitation of the Vedic formulas indicating the mode and the importance of their performance. The performance of these two yāgas also served as an education to the young Brahmacārins in the ancient Vedic yajña-vidyā. His Highness intends to perform occasionally these and the other Śrauta-yajñas not involving the animal-sacrifice, for preserving and propagating this important Vedic institution of the ancient Indian culture which is not merely of antiquarian interest but also of educational value to the present age.

Vasanta-Pūjā and Śāstrārtha

During the 9th birth day ceremony of the young Maharaj-Kumar, Sri Anant Narain Singh, which was celebrated from 25 to 27 November 1968, the *Vasanta-pūjā* (i.e. the ceremonial recitation of the Vedas by the boys under 14 years of age on a birthday ceremony) and a *Śāstrārtha* on the Nyāya was arranged by His Highness on the 27th November, in which the Mahārājakumar and the other Brahmacārins (students of the Vidyā-mandir Pāṭhaśālā of the Maharaja Banaras Vidyā-mandir Trust) took-part. Both the function were held under the supervision of Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid and Pandit Hari Ram Shukla of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University. After the two functions the prizes were given to the Brahmacārins and the prasāda was also distributed to the audience.

प्रारम्भिककृत्यानन्तरं वैदिकमन्त्रोच्चारणैः सह अरणिमन्थनाद् अग्निजननं कृतम्। दर्शयागावसरे १९ दिसम्बर दिनाङ्कस्य सायंकाले तथा २० दिसम्बर-दिनाङ्कस्य प्रातःकाले श्रौतक्रियानुसारं षण्णां गवां दोहनं कृतम्। उभौ यज्ञौ श्रीराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविडमहोदयस्य निर्देशने कृतौ। यज्ञावसरे तत्रभवान् काशिनरेशः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयः महाराजकुमारश्च आहवनीयाग्नेः पार्श्वे उपस्थितौ आस्ताम्। यज्ञसमाप्तौ यजमानेभ्यः पुरोहितेभ्यश्च अन्नस्य दक्षिणा दत्ता। दर्शयागस्य समाप्त्यवसरे दर्शकेभ्यः यज्ञविभूतिः वितरिता। वस्तुतः प्राचीनवैदिकरीत्या क्रियमाणानां यागानां दर्शनं दर्शकेभ्यो आनन्दकरं चमत्कृतिकरं चासीत्। अतीवसूक्ष्माऽपि क्रिया वैदिकरीत्या मन्त्रोच्चारणैः कृता आसीत्। अयं यागः ब्रह्मचारिशिशुभ्यः प्राचीनयज्ञविद्यायाः शिक्षणरूप आसीत्। तत्र भवान् काशिनरेशः पशुहिंसाविहीनान् प्राचीनान् वैदिकयज्ञान् समये-समये कर्तुकामो वर्तते येन तेषां प्रचारो भवेत्।

वसन्तपूजा शास्त्रार्थं च

महाराजकुमारस्य श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहस्य नवम्बर २५-२७ दिनाङ्केषु सम्पन्ने नवमजन्मदिवसोत्सवावसरे वसन्तपूजा (अर्थात् जन्मदिने ऊनचतुर्दशवर्षीयैः बालकैः वेदपाठः) तथा न्यायविषये शास्त्रार्थं च २७ नवम्बर दिनाङ्के तत्र भवद्भिः काशिनरेशैरायोजिते आस्ताम्। अस्मिन् कार्ये महाराजकुमारः तथा महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासेन प्रचालितायाः विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालाया अन्ये ब्रह्मचारिणश्च संलग्ना आसन्। उभे कार्ये पं० राजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविड महोदयस्य तथा पं. हरिरामशुक्लमहोदयस्य निर्देशने सम्पन्ने जाते। उत्सवसमाप्तौ ब्रह्मचारिभ्यः पुरस्कारं श्रोतृभ्यः प्रसादं च वितरितम्।

Varanasi Session of A. I. O. C.

The twenty-fourth session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Varanasi in the Varanaseya Sanskrit University on Oct. 12–14, 1968. His Highness Maharaja, Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh was the chairman of the reception commitee. In his address at the Plenary Session of the Conference the President, Acharya Visvabandhu (who could not attend the Session in person and so his address was read by Prof. Jagannath Agrawala) referred to the Purāṇa work of the All India Kashiraj Trust in an appreciative tone. In its concluding session the conference passed a resolution on the publication of the Critical Edition and the two translation Volumes of the Vāmana Purāṇa, which has already been noted above.

The Chairman of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, gave a tea-party to the delegates of the Conference in the evening of the 12th October on the lawn of the Sanskrit University. Dr. Aditya Nath Jha, Lieutenant Governor of Delhi, who inaugurated the session, was presented by H. H. a copy of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa on this occasion.

Shri Ananda Swarup Gupta and Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai read their papers on 'Textual Problems of the Vāmana Purāṇa', and the 'Evolution of the Vāmana-Legend' respectively in the classical section of the Conference. On the advice of Dr. R. N. Dandekar the classical section also passed an appreciative resolution on the publication of the three Volumes of the Vāmana Purāṇa by the Kashiraj Trust.

On behalf of the Purāṇa Department of the Kashiraj Trust Shri Anand Swarup Gupta placed the following resolution in the Council of the Conference on the 13th October, which was seconded by Dr. P. N. Pushp, Director of Archives and Libraries, Kashmir, and was passed unanimously :—

"Indian Institutions and Manuscript-Libraries are requested to give to the Public Institutions which are well established and recognised by the Government of India, facilities to directly

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्या सम्मेलनस्य वाराणसी-अधिवेशनम्

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य चतुर्विंशतितमम् अधिवेशनं वाराणसेय-संस्कृत-विश्वविद्यालये १९६८ खिष्टीयाब्दस्य अक्टूबर १२-१४ दिनाङ्केषु सम्पन्नम्। तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशाः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयाः स्वागतसमितेः अध्यक्षा आसन्। सम्मेलनस्य प्रारम्भिकाधिवेशने अध्यक्षः डा० विश्वबन्धुः (यस्यानुपस्थितौ श्रीजगन्नाथ अग्रवालः तस्य भाषणमपठत्) स्वीये भाषणे काशिराजन्यासीयपुराणकार्यस्य प्रशंसापूर्वकमुल्लेखमकरोत्। अधिवेशनस्य समाप्त्यवसरे सम्मेलनं वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षितसंस्करणस्य अनुवाद-संस्करणयोश्च विषये प्रस्तावं पारितवान् यस्य निर्देशः प्राक्कृतो वर्तते।

१२ अक्टूबर दिनाङ्कस्य सायंकाले संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालस्य प्राङ्गणे सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्याध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः सम्मेलनस्य प्रतिनिधिभ्यः उपाहारो दत्तः। तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः सम्मेलनस्योद्घाटनकर्तृणे दिल्लीप्रदेशस्योपराज्यपालाय डा० आदित्यनाथझामहोदयाय वामनपुराणस्यैका प्रतिः समर्पिता।

सम्मेलनस्य 'क्लासिकल वर्गे श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः Textual Problems of the Vāmana Purāṇa विषयमधिकृत्य डा० गंगासागररायश्च Evolution of the Vāmana Legend विषयमधिकृत्य निबन्धमपठत्। डा० दाण्डेकरमहोदयस्य निर्देशतः सम्मेलनस्य 'क्लासिकल वर्गोऽपि' न्यासेन वामनपुराणस्य प्रकाशनविषये एकं प्रशंसापरकं प्रस्तावं पारितवान्।

काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागतः श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तमहोदयेन सम्मेलनस्य कार्यसमितौ अधोनिर्दिष्टः प्रस्तावो प्रस्तावितः। एष प्रस्तावः कश्मीर-पुरातत्त्वस्य-पुस्तकालयानां च निर्देशकेन डा० पी. एन. पुष्पमहोदयेन समर्थितः सर्वसम्मत्या पारितश्च—

"भारतीयसंस्था हस्तलेखपुस्तकालयाश्च इदं प्रार्थ्यन्ते यत्ते भारतराज्येन स्वीकृतेभ्यः तथा प्रतिष्ठेभ्यः सर्वजनीनसंस्थाभ्यश्च उचितं बन्धपत्रं प्राप्य

borrow manuscripts from them, except the rare ones, on furnishing adequate security and on duly executing the indemnity bond. In case of rare manuscripts microfilms or photo-stat copies as desired by the borrowers, be supplied to them at their cost. If the lending institutions or libraries do not possess necessary facilities for making microfilm and photo-stat copies, they should have it done by the National Archives or such allied Government Institutions at the cost of the borrower".

Two Sanskrit Dramas Staged

Staging of Sanskrit dramas is a very good means of making the Sanskrit language popular among the masses besides giving them a healthy entertainment. It also displays the salient features of the Indian culture. With this point in view His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh arranged through the Maharaja Banaras Vidya Mandir Trust the staging of the two Sanskrit dramas, Saint Tulasīdāsa and Mīrābāi, composed by Śrimati Dr. Rāmā Rao of the Pracya Vāṇi Institution of Calcutta. The two dramas were successfully staged under the guidance of the authoress Śrimati Rao by her party on the 15th and 16th October respectively in the Ramnagar Fort. Besides Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji, Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravida and other local scholars and distinguished persons witnessed the two plays and appreciated them. A dinner was given to Śrimati Rao and her party on both the days.

Rāmalīlā

The famous Rāmalīlā organised every year at Ramnagar in Sept-Oct. by His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji has a great religious and cultural importance and is visited by a large number of people. It lasts for a full month.

This year the Rāmalīlā was organised from Sept. 5 to Oct. 5. Apart from the huge congregation the following distinguished persons also visited the fair :—

1. Shri Balwant Garagī of the Punjāb University, the well-khown authority on folk-theatre visited the Rāmalīlā and stayed here in the Nadesar House of His Highness. He is writing a book on the Ramnagar-Rāmalīlā.

दुर्लभहस्तलेखान् विहायान्यान् हस्तलेखान् ददन्तु। दुर्लभहस्तलेखानां माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतिः फोटोस्टैट प्रतिः वा ग्रहीतॄणां व्ययेन निर्माय ददन्तु। यदि तेषां सकाशं माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतेः फोटो स्टैट प्रतेः वा साधनं न भवेत् तर्हि ते ग्रहीतॄणां व्ययेन 'राष्ट्रीय आर्किव' अथवा एतादृशया शासन-संस्थया निर्मापयित्वा ददन्तु।

द्वयोः संस्कृतनाटकयोरभिनयः

संस्कृतनाटकानामभिनयः दर्शकाणां मनस्तोषातिरिक्तं संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारस्य साधनमप्यस्ति। अयं भारतीयसंस्कृतेः प्रमुखाङ्गस्यापि ख्यापकोऽस्ति। एतद् दृष्ट्या महाराजकाशिनरेशाः महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासद्वारा कलकत्ता-निवासिन्या डा० रमाचौधुरीमहोदयया तुलसीदास-मीराबाई विषयकयोः निर्मितयोः द्वयोः नाटकयोरभिनयस्य प्रबन्धं कारयामासुः। लेखिकायाः निर्देशने द्वयोर्नाटकयोरभिनयः १५, १६ अक्टूबर दिनाङ्कयोः रामनगरदुर्गे अभूत्। काशिनरेशाः, पं० राजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविडमहोदयाः, अन्ये विद्वांसः अधिकारिणश्च नाटकयोरभिनयं दृष्टवन्तः। नाटककर्तॄणां निर्देशिकायाश्च सम्माने उभयोर्दिनयोः सायं भोजनं दत्तम्।

रामलीला

तत्र भवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः रामनगरे प्रतिवर्षं सितम्बर-अक्टूबरमासे आयोजिता प्रसिद्धा रामलीला धार्मिक-सांस्कृतिकदृष्ट्या महत्त्वपूर्णा वर्त्तते। अस्मिन् वर्षे ५ सितम्बरदिनांकतः आरभ्य ५ अक्टूबर-दिनाङ्कं यावत् रामलीला आयोजिता आसीत्। बृहज्जनसम्मर्द्दातिरिक्तमधोनिर्दिष्टा विशिष्टाः पुरुषा रामलीलादर्शनार्थमागता आसन्—

१. श्रीबलवन्तगारगीमहोदयः पञ्जाबविश्वविद्यालयस्य-लोकनृत्यविषये अधिकारी विद्वान् वर्त्तते। अयं महानुभावः काशिनरेशस्य नन्देश्वरभवने अतिथिरभवत्। अयं महानुभावः रामनगरस्य रामलीलाविषये ग्रन्थरचनां कर्त्तुमीहते।

2. Mrs. Chester Bowles, wife of the U.S.A. Ambassador in India, Mr. Chester Bowles, came to see the Rāmalīlā with her friends from the Ambassy and stayed at the Nadesar House.

3. The V.C. of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University, Dr. Gauri Nath Shastri, came to see the Rāmalīlā with his family and friends on the Bharata-mīlāpa day (Oct. 3).

4. The V.C. of the Calcutta University also visited the Rāmalīlā on the same day.

5. Brigadier Rizvi of the Lucknow Command visited the Rāmalīlā on the Bharata-milāpa day and was greatly impressed.

Ṣaṣṭyabda-Pūrti of Dr. V. Raghavan

The *Ṣaṣṭyabdapūrti* or the 61st birthday of Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department of the Madras University and an eminent Sanskrit scholar of international fame, who is also a member of our Purāṇa-Committee, was celebrated in Madras with proper śāstric rites on the 21st and 22nd August, 1968. A public function was arranged on the 22nd August to felicitate Dr. Raghavan on this occasion. The function was presided by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. Messages were received from various quarters of India and abroad. The All-India Kashiraj Trust also sent a message of felicitation in Sanskrit and Rs. 101/- as its contribution. We again congratulate him for completing his 60th year and pray God to grant him a long and happy life to serve the cause of Sanskrit learning.

Scholars who visited the Puvāṇx-Depaatment

The following scholars visited our Purāṇa-Department during the period under review :—

1. Mahāmahopādhyāya Svāmi Gangesvaranand Ji, Veda-mandir, Ahmedabad.—16.10.68.
2. Dr. L. Sternbach, U.N., New York.—9.11.68,
3. Prof. Dr. Sūrya Kānta, Head of Sanskrit Department, Kurukṣetra University.—23.11.68.
4. Dr. B. N. Sharma, National Museum, New Delhi.—24.11.68.

२. अमेरिकादेशस्य राजदूतस्य चेस्टर बाउल्स महोदयस्य धर्मपत्नी स्वमित्रैः सह रामलीलादर्शनार्थमागता काशिनरेशस्य नन्देश्वरभवने स्थिता चासीत्।

३. वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्योपकुलपतिः डा० गौरीनाथशास्त्रि-महोदयः परिवारसदस्यैः स्वमित्रैश्च सह भरतमिलापदिने (३ अक्टूबर-दिनाङ्के) रामलीलां दृष्टवान्।

४. कलकत्ताविश्वविद्यालयस्य उपकुलपतिमहोदयोऽपि तस्मिन्नेव दिने रामलीलां दृष्टवान्।

५. ब्रिगेडियर रिजवीमहोदयोऽपि भरतमिलापदिने रामलीलां दृष्ट्वा प्रभावितो जातः।

डा० वे. राघवन् महोदयस्य षष्ट्यब्दपूर्तिः

विश्वविश्रुतसंस्कृतविदुषः मद्रासससंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्य-क्षस्य अस्मत् पुराणसमितिसदस्यस्य डा० वे० राघवन् महोदयस्य षष्ट्यब्दपू-त्युत्सवः १९६८ ख्रिष्टाब्दस्यागस्तमासस्य २१, २२ दिनाङ्कयोः शास्त्रीयपद्धत्या सम्पन्नः। अस्मिन्नवसरे डा० राघवन्महोदयस्याभिनन्दनं कर्तुम् एकः सार्वजनिकः उत्सव आयोजित आसीत्। उत्सवस्याध्यक्षता डा० चिन्तामणिद्वारकानाथदेशमुख-महोदयेन कृता। देशविदेशेभ्यः शुभाशंसनसंदेशा आगता आसन्। अस्मिन्नवसरे काशिराजन्यासेनापि संस्कृतभाषायां शुभाशंसा १०१मुद्रा च प्रेषिता। वयं तस्य षष्टिपूर्तौ तस्मै धन्यवादान् प्रेषयामः भगवन्तं याचामहे यत् तस्मै दीर्घं सुखमयं च आयुष्यं वितनोतु येनायं महाभागः संस्कृतसेवां कुर्यात्।

पुराणविभागं द्रष्टुमागता विद्वांसः

अस्मिन् कार्यावधौ अधोनिर्दिष्टा विद्वांसः पुराणविभागे आगता आसन्—

१. महामहोपाध्यायः स्वामी गङ्गेश्वरानन्दः, अहमदाबादीयवेदमन्दिराध्यक्षः १६।१०।६८ दिनाङ्के।

२. डा० लुडविक स्टर्नबाख महोदयः ९।११।६८ दिनाङ्के।

३. कुरुक्षेत्रविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षः प्रो. डा० सूर्यकान्त-महोदयः २३।११।६८ दिनाङ्के।

४. डा० बी० एन. शर्मामहोदयः, नेशनल म्यूजियम, दिल्ली। २४।११।६८ दिनाङ्के।

Distinguished Guests of His Highness

The following dignitories were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh at his Nadesar House during their visit to Varanasi :

1. Shri Morarji Desai, Deputy Prime Minister of India. (6. 7. 68).

2. Shri Jagjivan Ram, Food Minister, Government of India. (21.7.68 and 29.9.68).

3. Justice Shashi Kant Varma of Allahabad High Court. (1.9.68).

4. Shri Satyendra Narain Sinha, Patna. (2.10 68).

5. Mrs. Chester Bowles, American Embassy, New Delhi.

6. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, (10.10 68)

7. Dr. R. K. Sharma, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India, (12.10.68)

8. Shri Raj Gopalan, Judicial Member Income-tax Tribunal, Patna. (24.11.68)

9. Smt. Sushila Nayar. (26.12.68)

10. Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. (26.12.68)

विशिष्टा अतिथयः

अधो निर्दिष्टाः सज्जनाः स्वीयकाशीयात्रायां तत्रभवतां डा. विभूतिनारायण-सिंहमहोदयानां नन्देश्वरभवने अतिथयः आसन्—

१. भारतस्योपप्रधानमन्त्री श्रीमोरारजीदेसाईमहोदयः ६.७.६८ दिनाङ्के।

२. भारतस्य खाद्यमन्त्री श्रीजगजीवनराममहोदयः २१.७.६८, २९.९.६८ दिनाङ्कयोः।

३. प्रयाग-उच्चन्यायालयस्य न्यायाधीशः श्रीशशिकान्तवर्मामहोदयः १.९.६८ दिनाङ्के।

४. पटनानगरवास्तव्यः श्रीसत्येन्द्रनारायणसिंहमहोदयः २.१०.६८ दिनाङ्के।

५. भारतस्य अमेरिकी दूतावासतः श्रीमती चेस्टरबोल्समहोदया।

६. महाराजकुमार डा. रघुबीरसिंहमहोदयः १०.१०.६८ दिनाङ्के।

७. भारतस्य शिक्षामन्त्रालयाधिकारी डा. रामकरणशर्मामहोदयः १२.१०.६८ दिनाङ्के।

८. श्रीराजगोपालनमहोदयः।

९. श्रीमती सुशीला नायरमहोदया २६.१२.६८ दिनाङ्के।

१०. भारतदेशस्य प्रधानमन्त्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गान्धीमहोदया २६.१२.६८ दिनाङ्के।

BOOKS RECEIVED

(With brief Note on their Contents)

Lost Sarasvatī. By Indras. Published by Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat (India). First Edition: Feb. 1968. Pp. xxiv+285. Price Rs. 30.00, $ 7.00.

[It presents a study of the new personality of early India as emerging from functional-historical integration of recent data on human ecology, archaeology, anthropology, linguistics and literature bearing on the Sarasvatī, the lost river of the Indian History, and the mechanics of the human process.

The main headings are: I. Sarasvatī Basin and its strategy to history; II. As Archaeology depicts, distorts and drops; III. The human process in India. These are divided into several sub-headings. Several illustrations, maps, charts, appendices and an index are also added.]

La Grammaire de Pāṇini (Two Volumes). Edited by Louis Renou. Published by Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient, Paris, 1966. Pp.: Vol. I—413, Vol. II—490.

[The work contains the Sanskrit text of the Sūtras of Pāṇini, French Translation, and extracts from commentaries. Vol. I—Adh. 1 to 4, Vol. II—Adh. 5 to 8. At the end of Vol. II (pp. 435-490) a complete Index of the Pāṇini Sūtras is given.]

Sāmavedārṣeya-Dīpa (सामवेदार्षेय दीप) of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Adhvarīne, Edited and published by B. R. Sharma, M.A., Ph. D., Director, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1967. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series-No. 7. Pp. xvii+202. Price Rs. 13.50.

[It has been edited on the basis of the four MSS. The variants are given in footnotes. Text—pp. 1-124a; Critical notes—pp. 125-137; Appendix-A: An Alpha-

betical Index of the names of Sāmagānas, Grāmageya and Āraṇyaka. The verses on which these gānas are melodized as also the names of the Ṛṣis who composed the gānas are mentioned against each gāna. Appendix B: An alphabetical list of Ṛṣis of Sāmagānas with reference to page numbers. The Introduction given in the beginning in pp. xi-xvii discusses important characteristics of this work.]

Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa (आर्षेय ब्राह्मण) with Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa. Critically edited and published by Dr. B. R. Sharma, Director Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1967. K. S. V. Series-No. 8. Pp. 20+352. Price Rs. 18. 50.

[The editor has made use of eight MSS, four with commentary and four with the text only. Variants are given in footnotes. Critical notes are given in p. 269ff. Appendix contains the citations from other works referred to in the commentary. In the end two Indexes are given, the first contains the technical names of Sāmagānas, Grāmageya and Āraṇyaka, and the second Index has listed the Āraṇyaka-gānas in alphabetical order with their technical names and location numbers. Introduction in the beginning discusses important characteristics of the work and the various categories of the gānas.]

Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (षड्विंश ब्राह्मण) with Vedārtha Prakāśa of Sāyaṇa. Critically edited and published by Dr. B. R. Sharma, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1967. K. S. V. Series-No. 9. Pp. 26+306 Price Rs. 20/-

[The present edition of Ṣaḍviṁśa is based on one printed edition and eleven MSS. The Introduction deals with the important characteristics of the work, gives a brief summary of the topics dealt with in its six chapters, and discusses its textual and grammatical peculiarities. It also gives useful information about its

previous editions. The text covers pp. 1-225 with variants in the form of footnotes. Critical notes follow in pp. 226-234. Appendix A contains the explanation of technical words having a special connotation as found in the text or commentary. Appendix B contains the list of the quotations from the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads found in the text or commentary. Appendix C has listed the quotations from the non-Vedic texts found in the text and commentary. In the end a word index is given.]

Malayamāruta (मलयमारुत) Part one; A collection of minor works in Sanskrit poems, plays, hymns, anthologies etc. from MSS. not yet published. Edited by Dr. V. Raghavan. Published by the Central Sanskrit Institute, Tirupati, 1966. Pp. xii+127. Price Rupees five.

[In order to bring to light the large mass of minor Sanskrit works lying in manuscripts the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, has planned to publish a periodical, called the *Malayamāruta*, on the same plan as that of the *Kāvyamālāgucchakas* formerly published in fourteen parts by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay. The present issue of the *Malayamāruta* (मलयमारुत) is the inaugural number and is called the प्रथमः स्पन्दः. It contains the collection of the following nine short and minor Sanskrit works :

1. उच्छिष्टगणपतिमन्त्रमातृकास्तवः (Adyar Library Ms) ;
2. महाराज्ञीस्तोत्रम् Composed by Pandita Kṛṣṇaka (Adyar Library MS., B.O.R.I. Ms. ; and National Museum, Delhi, MS.);
3. दशश्लोकी by Vidyācakravartin (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, MS.);
4. उपदेशशिखामणिः by Tyāgarāja (Adyar Library MS.);
5. षडृतुवर्णनम् a compilation (Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, MS.);

6. कवितामृतकूपम् compiled by Gauramohan (Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library MS.);
7. नराभरणम् a compilation (Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library MS.);
8. सोमनाथशतकम् by Somanātha (from a transcript copy of a MS. of the Bhosla Sanskrit College, Nagpur); and
9. विबुधमोहन प्रहसनम् by Harijivan Miśra (Anupa Library, Bikaner, MS.).

In the footnotes are given textual and explanatory notes and bibliographical and historical data. The Preface (in English) and आमुख (in Sanskrit) gives information about the earlier efforts in publishing such collections of minor Sanskrit works from calcutta, Bombay and Banaras.]

Paurāṇika Dharma evaṁ Samāja (पौराणिक धर्म एवं समाज) By Dr. Siddhesvari Narain Roy, M. A., D. Phil. Published by the Panchanada Publications, Allahabad. First Edition, 1968. pp. 176+450.

[The present work is a dissertation in Hindi—based on the four Purāṇas—Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Matsya. It discusses the religious, social and cultural material of these Purāṇas. In the beginning there is a long and informative Introduction called विषयप्रवेश (pp. 1-176) which discusses the origin, development, nature and chronology of the Purāṇas in general and of the four Purāṇas in particular. After this the following topics of interest are discussed under the *Paurāṇika Dharma evaṁ Samāja*:—वैष्णवधर्म (Vaiṣṇavism), शैवधर्म (Śaivism), सूर्य तथा सौरपूजा (Sun and the Sun-worship), शक्तिधर्म (Śākta-cult), पुराणों में वर्णित अन्य देवता (Other Paurāṇika Deities), यज्ञ (Sacrifice), तीर्थ (Places of pilgrimage), वर्ण तथा जातियाँ (Varṇas and Castes), आश्रम व्यवस्था (the Institution of the four Āśramas or stages of

life), संस्कार (Purificatory ceremonies), शिक्षा (Education), स्त्रीदशा (the condition of women), वस्त्र-अलङ्कार (clothes and ornaments), मनोरञ्जन के साधन (the means of entertainment), अन्नपान (food and drinks), नगर-मापन (the building of cities), and आर्थिकदशा (economic condition of the people). The परिशिष्ट (Appendix) deals with such topics as the Purāṇic story of the origin of the Liṅga, etc. In the end there is a list of the Bibliography utilised by the author, and also a word-Index.]

—A. S. GUPTA

PUBLICATIONS OF THE PURĀṆA DEPARTMENT OF THE ALL INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST, FORT RAMNAGAR, VARANASI, U. P. INDIA

Purāṇa: Half yearly Purāṇa-Bulletin, started from 1959. Published in January and July each year. Contains articles in English and Sanskrit on Purāṇic studies and research. Annual Subscription Rs. 12 or £ 1. Supplements containing Indexes of articles and authors of every five Volumes also available separately.

Vāmana-Purāṇa: Critically edited for the first time by Prof. Anand Swarup Gupta on the basis of 21 manuscripts of different versions and scripts. The Introduction both in English and Sanskrit, besides giving the details of the critical Apparatus, discusses the various textual problems of the Vāmana Purāṇa and the principles adopted for constituting the text. Besides the Introduction, Constituted Text and the Critical Apparatus the edition contains also a detailed concordance of its Adhyāyas and Ślokas with the other printed editions of the Purāṇa, detailed Adhyāya-Contents, Appendices containing (i) a Subject-concordance with the other Purāṇas and the two Epics, (ii) Vāmana Purāṇa quotations found in the Dharmaśāstra-Nibandhas, both identified and unidentified, and (iii) a concordance of the Vāmana Purāṇa Ślokas with the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. In the end an Index of the Vāmana-Purāṇa Ślokārdhas (Half-Ślokas) is also given. Demy quarto size. pp. i-lxx+1-778+1-97 (Verse-Index). Price Rs. 125/-

Vāmana-Purāṇa with English Translation: English translation along with the constituted Sanskrit Text and with Introduction, Appendices, Adhyāya-concordance with the Veṅkaṭeśvara edn. and Verse-Index. The Appendices contain a subject-concordance and lists of the

personal names, geographical names, tīrthas, stotras, vratas, flora and fauna mentioned in the Vāmana Purāṇa with references of Adhs. and Śls. Scientific Latin names of flora and fauna and descriptive notes on the flora are also given. Demy quarto size. pp. i-l + 1-543 + 1-70 (App.) + 1-97 (Verse-Index). Price Rs. 80.

Vāmana-Purāṇa with Hindi Translation: Hindi translation along with the constituted Sanskrit text. Introduction (Hindi), Appendices, Adhyāya-Concordance and Ślokārdha-Index same as in the English Translation Volume. Size also Same. pp. i-xl + 1-465 + 1-55 + 1-97. Price Rs. 50.

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A NOTE ON THE VYĀSA-VANDANĀ

These verses of the *Vyāsa-vandanā* (adoration of Vyāsa) have been taken from some of the works of Madhva-Ācārya (also called Ānanda-tīrtha, b 1119—d 1199) who was the founder of the *dvaita* philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism, and also from the works of Śrīnivāsācārya (or Śrīnivāsatīrtha) of the Mādhva-sect. Śrī Madhva-Ācārya and the Ācāryas and followers of his sect were the great devotees and admirers of Veda-Vyāsa and regarded him not only as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, but Viṣṇu himself who incarnated into various *avatāras*, from Matsya to Kalki, as is clear from the *Karāvalambana-stotra* of Veda-Vyāsa composed by Yadupati or Yādavācārya (c. 1400 A.D).

These verses describe the physical form and some of the prominent virtues of Vyāsa and pay homage to him as follows :

"I bow to him (i.e to Vyāsa) who has filled the whole internal and the external universe with the light of knowledge, who is dark like an emerald, who keeps his hands in the position of the *tarka-mudrā* and the *abhaya-mudrā*, and who has imparted knowledge to Brahmā, Śiva and other gods.—(1)

"I bow to Vyāsa whose body is lustrous like the lustre of dark blue clouds, who has cast away (or driven away) all the evils, who imparts knowledge to Brahmā, Śiva and others, and whose hands are in the *sat-tarka-mudrā* and *abhaya-mudrā* —(2)

"I incessantly adore Hari in the form of Bādarāyaṇa-Vyāsa who gladdens the heart of his mother Vāsavī (Satyavatī), who fulfills the desires of good persons, who has endless good virtues, and whose feet have been served by the hands of Ānanda-tīrtha endowed with full knowledge.—(3)

"I adore Vyāsa who is the abode of all the virtues, who is the son of Vāsavī (Satyavatī, the daughter of king Vasu Uparicara), whose lotus-like feet are worshipped by my teacher, and who is dear to Madhva —(4)

"I daily adore the son of Satyavatī, who has the form of *sat* (existence), *cit* (consciousness), and *ānanda* (happiness) and whose lotus-like feet are worthy to be served by Śrī Madhva Muni.—(5).

"I adore Bādarāyaṇa (Vyāsa) who is prominent in the virtues like happiness, who gives happiness to his dependants, and whose body is made of happiness."—(6).

Vyāsa is represented here as keeping his hands in the position of the *tarka* and the *abhaya-mudrā*-s. It has a great significance here. A *mudrā* is formed by keeping the fingers in a certain position according to the rules prescribed in the Tantra-s. The *tarka-mudrā* is also called the *jñāna-mudrā* and is formed by joining the index finger with the thumb and spreading out the other fingers jointly (see the footnote of the Hindi translation of VI. 6. 38 of the Bhāg -P., Gītā Press edn) This *mudrā* is formed when expounding the philosophical and religious truths By the mention of this *mudrā* Vyāsa is represented here as a great expounder of *dharma* through his works—Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and the Brahma-sūtra. Vyāsa's *tarka-mudrā* symbolises *sat-tarka* (good and proper reasoning) and not *ku-tarka* (bad and fallacious reasoning). By his *abhaya-mudrā* Vyāsa assures security and freedom from fear through his exposition of *dharma* which protects one who protects or follows it ('धर्मो रक्षति रक्षित.').

The *tarka-(jñāna-) mudrā* is one of the nineteen *mudrā*-s sacred to Viṣṇu and the *abhaya-mudrā* is one of the ten *mudrā*-s sacred to Śiva (cf. Kālikā Purāṇa, Adh. 65, as quoted in the Śabda-Kalpa-druma). The mention of these two *mudrā*-s together, therefore, may also be taken to signify a synthesis of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism in Vyāsa and his works.

Vyāsa is considered as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu , cf. śloka 3 above in the *Vyāsa-vandanā* and also the following .—

द्वापरे द्वापरे विष्णुर्व्यासरूपी महामुने ।
वेदमेकं सुबहुधा कुरुते जगतो हितम् ॥

(Viṣ.-P. III. 3. 5)

कृष्णद्वैपायनो व्यासो विष्णुर्नारायणः स्वयम् ।
अपान्तरतमाः पूर्वं स्वेच्छया ह्यभवद्धरिः ॥

(Kūr.-P I. 51. 48)

In the Śiva-Purāṇa (Śata-rudrīya Samhitā, 37. 22f.) Vyāsa is mentioned as a great devotee of Śiva :

एतस्मिन् समये व्यासो भस्मभूषितमस्तकः ।
रुद्राक्षाभरणश्चायात् जटाजूटविभूषितः ॥
पञ्चाक्षरं जपन् मन्त्रं शिवप्रेमसमाकुलः ।
तेजसां च स्वयं राशिः साक्षाद्धर्म इवापरः ॥

In the Kūrma-Purāṇa Vyāsa is said to have seen and praised three-eyed Śiva before arranging the Vedas .

पाराशर्यो महायोगी कृष्णद्वैपायनो हरिः ।
आराध्य देवमीशानं दृष्ट्वा स्तुत्वा त्रिलोचनम् ॥
तत्प्रसादादसौ व्यासं वेदानामकरोत् प्रभुः ।

(Kūrma-P. I. 52. 11f.).

His works, both Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, are permeated with a spirit of great tolerance and with the ideas of the unity of the two great gods—Viṣṇu and Śiva.

—ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

वासुदेव-स्तुतिः

(भागवतपुराणम्, ८. १६. २९–३७)

नमस्तुभ्यं भगवते पुरुषाय महीयसे ।
सर्वभूतनिवासाय वासुदेवाय साक्षिणे ॥ २९ ॥

नमोऽव्यक्ताय सूक्ष्माय प्रधानपुरुषाय च ।
चतुर्विंशद्गुणज्ञाय गुणसंख्यानहेतवे ॥ ३० ॥

नमो द्विशीर्ष्णे त्रिपदे चतुःशृङ्गाय तन्तवे ।
सप्तहस्ताय यज्ञाय त्रयीविद्यात्मने नमः ॥ ३१ ॥

नमः शिवाय रुद्राय नमः शक्तिधराय च ।
सर्वविद्याधिपतये भूतानां पतये नमः ॥ ३२ ॥

नमो हिरण्यगर्भाय प्राणाय जगदात्मने ।
योगैश्वर्यशरीराय नमस्ते योगहेतवे ॥ ३३ ॥

नमस्त आदिदेवाय साक्षिभूताय ते नमः ।
नारायणाय ऋषये नराय हरये नमः ॥ ३४ ॥

नमो मरकतश्यामवपुषेऽधिगतश्रिये ।
केशवाय नमस्तुभ्यं नमस्ते पीतवाससे ॥ ३५ ॥

त्वं सर्ववरदः पुंसां वरेण्य वरदर्षभ ।
अतस्ते श्रेयसे धीराः पादरेणुमुपासते ॥ ३६ ॥

अन्ववर्त्तन्त यं देवाः श्रीश्च तत्पादपद्मयोः ।
स्पृहयन्त इवामोदं भगवान् मे प्रसीदताम् ॥ ३७ ॥

A NOTE ON THE VĀSUDEVA-STUTI

The above *Vāsudeva-stuti* is a part of the *payo-vrata* (a vow to live on milk only for twelve days in the bright half of the month of Fālguna) instructed by Sage Kaśyapa to his wife Aditi. By observation of this vow Viṣṇu is pleased and grants a boon to the worshipper. Aditi observed this *vrata* strictly according to the instructions of Kaśyapa, and thereby she was granted a boon by Viṣṇu that He would be born to her as a son in the form of Vāmana. This *payo-vrata* is called *sarva-yajña* (essence of all the sacrifices), *sarva-vrata* (essence of all the vows) and *tapaḥ-sāra* (essence of all the austerities) and satisfies God Viṣṇu—

अयं वै सर्वयज्ञाख्यः सर्वव्रतमिति स्मृतम् ।
तपःसारमिदं भद्रे दानं चेश्वरतर्पणम् ॥

(Bhāg. VIII. 16.60).

This *Vāsudeva-stuti*, being a part of this important *vrata*, has great importance from the religious point of view. The first two ślokas (29, 30) of this *stuti* are in general praise of Vāsudeva : He is the greatest of all the beings, he resides in all the beings, he is *Puruṣa* (the Supreme Being and the soul of the universe), *Vāsudeva* (the deity who resides in all and in whom reside all) and *sākṣin* (the witness) of all—(29). He is *avyakta* (unmanifest), *sūkṣma* (subtle) and *Pradhāna-puruṣa* (the Primaeval Matter or Prakṛti). He knows the twenty-four *guṇas* (i. e. 24 *tattvas* as enumerated in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy), He is the founder of the Sāṁkhya-philosophy (called here *guṇa-saṁkhyāna*, as *guṇas* or *tattva*-s are enumerated and expounded here)—(30).

The third śloka (31) describes symbolically the form of *Yajña* (Sacrifice) who is considered as Viṣṇu himself ('यज्ञो वै विष्णुः') and also as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu (Cf. Bhāg.-P. II. 7.2). Yajña here is said as having two heads (*prāyaṇīya*, introductory libation, and *udayanīya*, finishing ceremony), three feet (i. e. the three *savana*-s act of pressing out the soma-juice performed at the three periods of the day), four horns (i. e. the four Vedas), seven hands (i. e. the seven Vedic metres). He (God Yajña) is *tantu* (producer and

increaser of the results of the actions) and his soul resides in the *Trayī-vidyā* (the science of the three Vedas). This śloka is infact a repetition of the following Ṛgvedic *mantra*—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य ।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति महोदेवो मर्त्यां आविवेश ॥

(Rgveda, IV. 58.3).

Sāyaṇa has interpreted this *mantra* as follows:—

अस्य यज्ञात्मकस्याग्नेः चत्वारि शृङ्गा चत्वारो वेदाः शृङ्गस्थानीयाः......। त्रयो अस्य पादाः सवनानि त्रीण्यस्य पादाः । प्रवृत्तिसाधनत्वात् पादा इत्युच्यन्ते । द्वे शीर्षे ब्रह्मौदनं प्रवर्ग्यश्च । इष्टिसोमप्राधान्येनेदमुक्तम् । सप्त हस्तासः सप्त छन्दांसि । हस्ताः अनुष्ठानस्य मुख्यसाधनम् । छन्दांस्यपि देवताप्रीणनस्य मुख्यसाधनमिति हस्त-व्यवहारः । त्रिधा बद्धः मन्त्रब्राह्मणकल्पैः त्रिप्रकारं बद्धः । बन्धनमस्य तन्निष्पाद्यत्वम् । वृषभः फलानां वर्षिता (cf. 'तन्तवे' in the above *stuti*)......

The next ślokas further describe Lord Vāsudeva as follows:

He is Śiva, Rudra, Śakti-dhara (upholder of *Śakti*); He is the Lord of all the *Vidyā*-s or branches of knowledge; He is the Lord of all the beings; He is the Hiraṇyagarbha (Brahmā or the Golden Egg.); He is *Prāṇa* (called also *sūtrātman* in the Vedānta); He is the soul of the universe; He has the body of the powers of *Yoga*; He is the founder of the *Yoga*; He is the Primaeval Deity; He is *Sākṣi-bhūta* (the witness of the universe); He is Sage Nārā-yaṇa and Nara (these two are also considered as the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu); His body is dark like an emerald; He possesses *Śrī* (or Goddess of wealth); He is also called *Keśavu* and *Pītavāsas* (having Yellow garments); He is the bestower of all the boons; He is the best of the *Puruṣas*; He is the best of those who bestow boons; the wise therefore worship the dust of his feet for their welfare. The gods and Śrī (Laksmi), therefore take shelter under his feet, desirous of obtaining fragrance from them Salutation to Him May He be propitiated.

—Anand Swarup Gupta

PRINCIPLES OF MAHĀBHĀRATA TEXTUAL CRITICISM : THE NEED FOR RESTATEMENT

By

V. M. Bedekar

['पुराण' पत्रिकायाः १०. २ (जुलाई १९६८) अङ्के मैडेलिन बिआरड्यू (Madeleine Biardeau) इत्याख्यया फ्रान्सदेशीय-विदुष्या पाठसमीक्षात्मकसरण्या प्रस्तुतानां महाभारतपुराणादीनां संस्करणानामनुपयोगित्वमप्रामाण्य च विवेचितम् । लेखिकामहोदयाया मतानुसारत. विभिन्नपाठसरणीना पाठसाङ्कर्यं न करणीयम् अपि तु सर्वासामेव तत्तद्देशेषु प्रचलितानां पाठपरम्पराणां रक्षणपुरस्सरं सर्वासां पाठसरणीनां समानान्तरं एकत्रैव पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं विधेयम् । प्रस्तुतनिबन्धस्य लेखक. श्रीबेडेकर महोदयः उक्तलेखिकायाः मतानामालोचनं कृत्वा तेषां निस्सारत्वमप्रामाण्यं च दर्शयति । लेखकमहोदयस्य मतानुसारतः पाठसमीक्षासिद्धान्तानुसारतः प्राचीनग्रन्थानां सम्पादनं तु प्रायेण सर्वेषामेव विदुषां सम्मतमस्ति । सप्ततिवर्षाणां प्राक् विन्टरनित्ज-महोदयैः महाभारतस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्यावश्यकता प्रदर्शिता ल्यूडर्समहोदयैश्च केषांचिन्महाभारतश्लोकानां समीक्षितसंस्करणं प्रकाशितम् । तदनन्तरं भाण्डारकरशोधसंस्थानतः बहुभिः प्रकाण्डपण्डितैः चत्वारिंशत् वर्षं यावत् सपरिश्रमं सम्पूर्णं महाभारतं प्रकाशितम् । प्रस्तुतनिबन्धे लेखक. प्रदर्शयति यत् लेखिकया उद्भाविता बह्व्यो विप्रतिपत्तयः पूर्वमेव कैश्चिद् विद्वद्भिरुद्भाविता आसन् यासां समाधानमपि सुकथानकरमहोदयैः कृतम् । यत् लेखिकामहोदयया सर्वासां पाठपरम्पराणां पृथक्-पृथक् सम्पादनं प्रस्तावितं तत्तु महाभारतादिबृहद्ग्रन्थानां पक्षे अव्यवहार्यं वर्तते । पुनश्च इदमपि पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणमेव भविष्यति । सर्वा पाठपरम्परा. पृथक्-पृथक् दातव्या एव तर्हि तासामाधारभूतस्य कस्यचित् प्राचीनपाठस्य निर्धारणे को दोषो भवेत् । लेखिकामहोदयया विभिन्नपाठपरम्पराज्ञानवतां तत्तद्देशीयपण्डितानां महत्त्वप्रदर्शनमपि अतिरञ्जितम् । व्यक्तिविशेषाणां रुचिररुचिर्वा वैज्ञानिक-पद्धत्या विषयो न भवति । डाक्टरसुकथानकरमहोदयेन स्वभूमिकायां नीलकण्ठस्य ये दोषाः प्रदर्शितास्तेषां समाधानं न कृतं लेखिकया अपितु नीलकण्ठस्य तया अनपेक्षिता प्रशस्तिः कृता । पुनश्च नीलकण्ठेनापि विभिन्नकोशानामाधारेण संग्रहात्मकं संस्करणमेव प्रस्तुतम् । लेखिकया

यदुक्तं वैज्ञानिकी पाठसमीक्षापद्धतिः भारतीयपुराणेतिहासादिषु नोपयुज्यते तदपि असमीचीनमेव वैज्ञानिकपद्धत्या. सार्वभौमत्वात् सार्वजनीनत्वाच्च । लेखिकामहोदयया परम्पराद्दृष्ट्याऽस्य संस्करणस्याप्रामाण्यकथनमप्यसमीचीनम् । यत. सुकथानकरमहोदयैर्नेदमुक्तं यदिदं संस्करणम् परम्पराद्दृष्ट्याऽधिकं प्रामाणिकम् । अत्र लेखकमहोदय समस्तप्रश्नानामुत्तरं विधाय कथयति यत् लेखिकामहोदया इतिहासपुराणयोः कस्याप्यंशस्य स्वीयसिद्धान्तानुसारेण संपादनं प्रकाशनं च यदि कुर्यात् तदैव तस्य व्यावहारिकत्वमुपयोगित्वं च परीक्षितुं शक्येत ।]

The need for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata (*mb*) was first voiced about seventy years ago by M. Winternitz (1897). In furtherance of the project initiated by Winternitz's proposal, Prof. Luders prepared a 'specimen' of a critical edition of the first 67 stanzas of the Ādiparvan of the *mb* in 1908. The first great World War gave a quietus to the ambitious project of the critical edition of the *mb* undertaken by Western Scholars. Subsequently, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute enthusiastically undertook the work of the critical edition of the *mb* Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, the first General Editor, brought out the critical edition of the Ādiparvan in 1933, with a Prolegomena appended to it in the beginning, in which he systematically formulated the principles of textual criticism underlying the critical edition of the *mb*. On the basis of these principles enunciated in the Prolegomena, the subsequent work of critically editing the rest of the *mb* was carried on, and the critical edition of the whole of the *mb* (without the Harivamśa) was completed in 1966. The principles formulated and applied to the critical edition of the *mb* have been acclaimed by almost all scholars and have generally served as a scientific norm in the preparation of the critical editions of old Indian texts. One would, indeed, think that, after the publication of the monumental critical edition of the *mb* on which so many eminent scholars worked, the principles of textual criticism underlying the edition had come to stay. It is, therefore, curious and intriguing, if not amusing, to read 'some more considerations about Textual Criticism' by Madeleine Biardeau (B) ('PURĀṆA' July 1968. pp. 115-123) in which the writer has called in question the very principles of Textual Criticism underlying the critical edition of the *mb*.

B. while attacking the principles of *mb* textual criticism has stated towards the end of her article that 'I purposely remained at the level of generalities to make my point clearer'. With all deference to the writer's candour in making this statement, it must be remarked that one's overall impression after reading the article is that of a cluster of vague generalizations which hardly 'make the writer's point clearer'. The writer has not given or pinpointed specific texts or passages in the critical edition of the *mb* or the Purāṇas to substantiate her contentions. A careful reader of Sukthankar's Prolegomena to the Ādiparvan will be agreeably surprised to find that many of the difficulties or the objections which B. claims to have raised in her article had been already forestalled and satisfactorily met by him. We shall give such instances in the sequel of this article.

Fortunately for the reader, B. has come down from the plane of generalities towards the end of the article and has vouchsafed what appear to be her constructive suggestions, for the consideration of the editors of the critical editions. B says (p. 123[1]):—"The main concern of the editors should be to publish not only the different recensions as they are, but also when necessary, the different versions of each recension. The different texts should be published in parallel. Each version could be "critically edited" (B's own inverted commas) to a certain extent, though final certainty or completely satisfactory text is impossible. This detailed critical work should not be mechanically compiled just on the basis of known rules of critical editions. I would suggest that the *ms* evidence be checked and strengthened through consultations with the people who even now have a firsthand knowledge of the Epic and the Purāṇas".

The substance of the suggetion made by B. in the first sentence of the above quotation has been already dealt with by Sukthankar who says[2]: "One scholar (Lesny, Archiv Orietalni, Vol. 5 (1933), p. 159) has suggested that to expedite and facilitate the work, we should, as a first step, before any attempt is made to constitute the final text of the *mb*, critically edit all the different

1. The figures refer to the pages of B's article in the PURĀṆA already referred to.
2. Prolegomena pp. 82 ff. Quotations from Sukthankar further on in the article refer to the pages from the Prolegomena.

versions. That, it must be said, a tall order, as any one will admit, who has any practical experience of editing the *mb*, in any shape or form, critical or otherwise. But perhaps funds and workers—not to speak of patience—can be found to edit a dozen or more lakhs of stanzas comprising the dozen or more versions of the Great Epic. There remains, however, yet another and more fundamental difficulty which appears to have wholly escaped the attention of the learned critic. The difficulty is that it is practically impossible to edit even a single version of the *mb*—or for that matter, of any other text—wholly satisfactorily, without considering the entire evidence that is, without, at the same time, consulting the readings of all other versions.[1] . .In fact, there is no way of finding out whether any of the *mss* of a particular version. And, if for the editing of each of the individual versions, we have to scrutinize and weigh the entire evidence, we might as well get busy with the work of preparing the final text, assuming of course that a final text has to be prepared Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that all the dozen or more versions lie before us in a critically edited shape, our task is not made easier on that account. One has to go through the same mental process in picking out or reconstructing the correct readings, whether, as at present, the *variae lectiones* are concentrated on a single page of the critical edition or have to be searched in a dozen or more different provincial editions, arranged round about in a semi-circle. Preparing all these different editions would not by itself give us the correct readings".

We have given the above quotation in extenso in order to show that the suggestion of B. that the different recensions and their versions should be separately published is not a new one and that it has been given great thought and shown to be quite unfeasible by Sukthankar. The most important conclusion to which B's suggestion inexorably leads, in spite of her, is, as has been shown by Sukthankar, the very necessary task of preparing the critical edition to which B. unfortunately demurs throughout her article. That the suggestion made by B has not been given

1. As this point, Sukthankar discusses a specific example of the difficulty of ascertaining the true character of the variants in Grantha *ms* without consulting other versions.

full thought or has not been thought out by her in all its implications or is even haphazard, vague and ill-conceived would appear from the rather intriguing statements made by her (following that suggestion made by her in the above quotation from her article) She says (p. 132): "The different texts of versions of recensions should be published in parallel. Each version could be 'critically edited' to a certain extent... .This critical work should not be just on the basis of known rules of critical editions ......The *ms* evidence be checked through consultations with the people who have a first-hand knowledge of the Epics. " Now these vague statements raise a number of questions. On each of these statements, one would like to ask B. the following questions:

(i) If, in the proposed edition, the different texts are to be published in parallel, how would this procedure substantially differ from the present critical edition of the *mb.* in which the different varying texts are either given at the bottom of the page or in the Appendix ?

(ii) What does a version 'being critically edited' mean? Does it not mean, as Sukthankar says, the consideration and consultation of the readings of all other versions ? If that is what is meant, how does it differ from the present method of the textual criticism of the *mb* ?

(iii) What rules has B. in view, 'other than known rules of critical editions'?

(iv) What particular people has she in view, who according to her 'have a firsthand knowledge of the texts' ? Are they some local Pandits or Purāṇikas who read or recite the Epics and the Purāṇas ?

What quality or standard has she in view, which the local Pandits should possess and by which their firsthand knowledge or accuracy of their particular transmission of the Epic or Purāṇic texts can be judged ? While consulting the Pandits, the Pandits of what particular locality or localities should be given preference in deciding upon a variant in a 'critically edited' text ?—These questions would logically confront the reader and befog him as to the exact and clear outlines of the new constructive method of textual criticism B. may have in view. Her statement that she has 'purposely remained at the level of generalities' would not

exonerate her from the charge of misleading the reader by making such vague general statements with a view to belittling, without adducing sufficient reasons, the canons of textual criticism on which the critical edition of the *mb* is based

B. calls in question the textual criticism on which the critical edition of the *mb* is based, but nowhere does expressly state her own rules of textual criticism If we try to gather, from the vague general statements which we have quoted above and subjected to a searching analysis, some canons of textual criticism which B. may have in view, we may say that one of her proposed canons of proper textual criticism would be to 'check the *ms* evidence through consultation with the people who have a first-hand knowledge of the epics' (p 123) That She has this criterion of textual criticism in view gets corroborated by another statement which she has made in the article (p. 121) She says : "Any Epic or Purāṇic story is true if the local Brahmins recognize it as part of their beliefs". In support of this criterion of textual criticism which she has posited, she goes on to give a concrete illustration which she came across in her tour of Andhra. Her illustration throws an interesting light on what constitutes according to her own peculiar idea, a canon of textual criticism, namely, the recognition by local Brahmins. She says[1] (p. 121) "While talking with Shri Vaishnava Pandits of the Simhachalam Pathashālā in Andhra, I found that they admitted that the local Purāṇa which relates the story of Narasiṁha and Prahlāda was quite different from the Skandapurāṇa version of the same story, though Skandapurāṇa version was the avowed source of it. In spite of this difference, the local Purāṇa was for them authoritative, since it expressed their beliefs, and was therefore considered superior to any local version ..A non-Brahmin Hindu (who accompanied me) tried to propose another i.e. Śaivite version of the same story. The Shri Vaishṇava Brahmins rejected that version saying that it was a Purāṇa 'coming from the mouth', while their own local Sthala-Purāṇa was attributed to Vyāsa. The Shri Vaishṇava Brahmins found in themselves the real source of the authoritativeness of the story".

1. What follows is a summary of the ancedote of her meeting with the Brahmin Pandits.

The criterion, which B. has suggested for the checking of *ms* evidence,—namely the consultation with the local pandits—is, as has been suggested in the questions raised previously above, is, to say the least, uncertain and arbitrary. The ancedote which she narrates of her meeting and talk with the Vaishṇava Pandits of Simhachalam does not at all help to make the criterion clearer. The Pandits admit that the story of Naraśimha and Prahalāda occuring in the Skandapurāṇa is the source of, or older than, that in the local Purāna The admission of the pandits that the Skandapurāna version of the story is older than the one in their own local Purāna, implies on their part the tacit acceptance—may be, unawares—of the principles of scientific textual criticism according to which attempt is made to distinguish or separate an older version from its later modified version. That the local pandits show their preference for the version in the local Purāṇa is another matter and being subjective cannot be a criterion of objective textual criticism. There might be other pandits of other localities who would show their preference for the version in the Skandapurāṇa The non-Brahmin Hindu who accompanied B. had his preference for the Śaivite version of the story. How can such differing likes and dislikes—such subjective preferences for particular versions—serve as a criterion of scientific textual criticism ? Scientific textual criticism, in application to this particular case, should and would take into account all available *ms* evidence and other testimonial bearing on all versions of the Narasiṁha and Prahlāda story and try to arrive at and constitute the oldest shape or version of the story on the basis of that evidence. While recording the oldest form or version of the story thus arrived at and constituted, proper scientific textual criticism would not ignore the differences or variations found in the versions ; on the other hand, it would also record such differences and variations in the critical apparatus below the constituted version or in the Appendices attached to it thus making available in one edition to all readers a panorama of different versions, still leaving them free choice to enjoy their preference for their own particular version which they may be considering as authoritative.

Basing his stand on the principles of objective textual criticism, Sukthankar has naturally been critical of the Vulgate i.e.

the Devanāgarī version of Nīlakaṇṭha which he takes as proof of the process of conflation through which the *mb* text has passed. B. disagreeing with Sukthankar's principles of textual criticism and his criticism of Nīlakaṇṭha, has the following to say in praise of the Vulgate and Nīlakaṇṭha (p. 120) : "N tried to collect all the available versions of the *mb* and on the basis of them all, to compose a more complete text. ..We have not much evidence of N's kind of work No doubt he had also sometimes to eliminate and choose and he did not retain stories or details of stories which were meaningless to him. He was probably even more conscious of the religious requirement than the modern pandits. We can at least tentatively express the traditional idea in these terms any epic or *purānic* story is true if the local Brahmins recognize it as part of their belief These Brahmins are the *Śruta*, because they are well-versed in Śruti.. ..."

Sukthankar has subjected to a fairly detailed critical analysis of the version of Nīlakaṇṭha (see, pp. 65-69, 80-81, 103 of the Prolegomena). If one read Sukthankar's analysis carefully, one would not agree with B's remark made above that 'we have not much evidence of N's kind of work'. Rather, as Sukthankar has said, Nīlakaṇṭha himself has vouchsafed some information as to how he has prepared his text (Prol. p. 81). That N's text is of an inclusive type is proved by a remark of N. where he naively admits that he had put together the stanzas which had been commented on by the ancient Bhāṣyakāras and others he had found in modern manuscripts with the idea of making 'a thesaurus of excellence' (गुणोपसंहारन्यायेन एकीकृत्य). He has borrowed, according to his fancy, passages short and long, from the southern recensions. Sukthankar has conclusively shown how N.'s conflated version contains a number of lines which are not found in any of the other versions (p. 78), how it contains mystifying, nonsensical repetitions (p 78), how at one place N has disfigured his text in his frantic attempt to squeeze into it a lengthy Southern passage containing some details which did not fit into his own text (p. 80), and how as a result of his additions, his text sometimes becomes wholly unintelligible and syntactically absurd.

B. while praising the Vulgate and Nīlakaṇṭha, does not care to answer Sukthankar's criticism. She further says (in the passage

quoted above) that 'No doubt he (i e. Nīlakaṇtha) had also to eliminate and choose etc.'. She does not explain why even Nīlakaṇtha who, according to her, tried to collect all available versions and to compose a more complete text, was required to eliminate and choose certain texts. Perhaps even Nīlakaṇṭha had his own ideas of Textual Criticism, of which B. fights so shy. Therefore he was compelled by the logic of his own criterion to refer only to certain passages and eliminate them from his text. [e g. he only refers (see his Ādiparvan 196 Bombay edition) to the two adhyāyas of Nālāyaṇī and Bhaumāśvī episodes which are typical Southern interpolations and which he has dropped from his text] (See Prol. 67). Sukthankar (Prol. 67) has pointed out how Nīlakaṇṭha has candidly confessed his inability to understand[1] the confused textual tradition (on B. 1.22.1) which shows that this learned pandit of the 17th century was groping, in his own way, to arrive at certain canons of textual criticism of which B. appears to be so chary. B agrees with S Levi in her high estimate of the Vulgate and Nīlakaṇtha in spite of their obvious defect. The uncritical casual and ill-informed manner in which she has praised the Vulgate and Nīlakaṇṭha reminds us of the remarks which Sukthankar has made with regard to S Levi. Sukthankar says (p. 84) "...his theoretical misgivings are based on a rather hasty study of both the Vulgate and the critical text; for the text of the Vulgate is so corrupt and obviously contaminated." These remarks of Sukthankar can apply to the whole article of B.

Then B in the passage quoted above goes on to formulate what according to her formed Nīlakaṇtha's criterion of composing his text, namely, the religious requirement of the modern pandits, adding her own pet maxim referred to above that "any epic or purāṇic story is true if the local Brahmins recognize it as part of their beliefs". This criterion, namely, consisting of religious requirements and the preference of the local Brahmin is a purely subjective matter, being vague and, in the ultimate analysis, indeterminate and falls outside the sphere of objective textual criticism.

B. has unjustly criticized Sukthankar and others in using the Western Scientific method of textual criticism which was not,

1. अत्र कोशशुद्धिं न प्रतीमः ।

according to her, meant for that kind of Indian Epic and Purāṇic literature. She says in effect (pp. 116-117) "The oral tradition in the West was authorless and collective and is in opposition to written literature which was by individual authors and maintained by *ms* tradition The rules of textual criticism were evolved for written literature and their main purpose was to reconstruct, out of the variation of *mss*, the original work of the author". About the oral tradition in India she says (p. 118): "The Epic and Purāṇas are Smrti texts. We have not here a single text with negligible variant readings but different recensions of the same work. In the Epics and the Purāṇas the oral tradition has been maintained through *ms* tradition in which vast variations occur not only between two recensions but also between two versions of the same recension".

If one reads these two quotations together, one fails to understand what essential difference B has in view between Western and Indian traditionally written transmitted texts. Originally the Epics and the Purāṇas were orally transmitted But when later on, they were committed to writing and transmitted through mss. they apparently stand on a par with Western written literature, as far as the essential rules of textual criticism are concerned. Only the proportion and the magnitude of the task of applying rules of textual criticism to *mb* differ in their vastness and arduousness from those of the Western written literature. Sukthankar was conscious of the difficulties and the limitations in applying the principles of textual criticism to the stupendous material of the *mb* He also recognised the necessity of evolving for the critical edition of the *mb* canons of textual criticism different from those usually applied to Western texts. He says (p 77) "Indeed our ideal is the same as that of the classical philologist : restoration of the text, as far as possible, to its original form In the *mb*, we have a text with about a dozen, more or less, independent versions where extreme types differ, in extent, by about 13000 stanzes or 26000 lines The classical philologist has clearly no experience in dealing with a text of this description, an opus of such gigantic dimensions and complex character, with such a long and intricate history behind it". Undaunted by the stupendousness of the task, Sukthankar, therefore, tried to evolve, on the basis of Scientific Western textual criticism, canons of textual criticism in its application to the *mb*

problem which he called, to distinguish it from that of Western literary texts, a problem '*sui generis*' (p. 86). Sukthankar applying himself to the task of evolving and formulating the Mahābhārata textual criticism, was actuated, like other Western savants (like Luders) before him, by the scientific spirit—the raison d'etre of Western textual criticism—which aimed at the restoration of the oldest text on the basis of the available *mss* evidence B.'s criticism that Western scientific method of textual criticism is not meant for the Indian Epics and Purāṇas is therefore not only unjustified but unsound as it finally militates against the very essential core of the whole question—namely the scientific approach which is inherent in the science of textual criticism. The textual criticism as a science is universal and it is crass obscurantism to say that it is not meant for the Indian Epics and the Purāṇas.

Some vague confusing statements in B.'s article would lead a discriminating reader to conclude that as far as Indian Epics and Purāṇas are concerned, B. does not believe in a scientific approach inherent in textual criticism and holds some beliefs as criteria which are extraneous and irrelevant to the science of textual criticism. We are giving, as example, the following statements in her article, with our critical remarks at the end of each statement.

(i) "Sukthankar has created a new recension of the *mb*. But it is not clear why it should be either better from a scientific viewpoint or more authoritative from a traditional angle. Since the traditional Indian Pandits presently seem to share in this opinion, it would seem that the target has been missed." (p. 119).

In this statement, it is not clear what B. exactly means by the words 'more authoritative from the traditional angle'. She does not clarify what is exactly meant by 'the traditional angle' or point of view. Perhaps by authoritative she means 'approved by the traditional Indian Pandits'. But this militates against the scientific spirit of the *mb* critical edition. For, the use of the word 'authoritative' is subjective and depends upon the likes of the persons who call it authoritative. The critical edition claims that its text is better from a scientific viewpoint, as it represents the oldest text arrived at on the basis of available *mss* evidences. It may not be authoritative from the traditional angle of the traditional pandits who regard subjectively as authoritative their own pet versions.

irrespective of the fact that those versions vary from other versions which latter may be considered authoritative by another set of Pandits. Sukthankar never claimed that the critical edition would be authoritative from the traditional point of view.

(ii) "If we want to study scientifically some piece of Indian oral tradition, we should not begin by focussing our attention on the changes that took place in the process of transmitting the texts but determine for any given time whether a particular piece of oral literature had some relation to the actual beliefs of the people and how it was understood by them" (pp. 119-120)

With regard to the above statement, one may ask : what after all does scientific study of texts mean, if it does not take into account the changes that appear from recension to recension or from version to version ? Again it goes without saying that every particular recension or version may have had some relation to the actual beliefs of the people But how does this consideration help scientific textual criticism which, as has been already said, aims at the oldest text, irrespective of the beliefs of the people who may be having liking for a particular version. It is possible that the oldest text, thus arrived at on *mss* evidence, may have had some relation to the actual beliefs of the people. But this consideration is entirely extraneous to the canons of textual criticism which lead to the restoration of the oldest text

(iii) Speaking in praise of Nīlakaṇṭha and his text, B. remarks : "His main concern was to bring out as complete a collection as possible of the epic stories that were prevalent at the time and known by every-body in one form or another. But certainly he was concerned with the authoritativeness of the stories, as any good Brahmin should be. He was probably more conscious of this religious requirement than the modern pandits". (p. 121)

B. has not clarified or specified the criterion or the test by which Nīlakaṇṭha, including the stories, was able to find the sense or consensus of 'everybody in one form or another'. It may have been probably his own subjective preference for particular stories from different recensions or versions which actuated him, to select his conflated text. If inclusion of as complete a collection as possible of stories prevalent during the growth of the epic were the main consideration in judging any edition of the *mb*, one would

recommend to B, the critical edition of the *m*b initiated by Sukthankar and completed by the successive Editors because the latter within its vast compass of (i) the constituted text (ii) starred passages and various readings given below the constituted text and (iii) the passages given in the Appendix to every *Parvan*, contains all the stories prevalent at various times and known by everybody in one form or another. Even the story of Nālāyaṇī which Nīlakaṇtha has not included in his text is found included in the Appendix in the critical edition.

In the eloquent words of Sukthankar (p. 4), in the preparation of the critical edition of the *mb*, "all important versions of the great Epic have been taken into consideration and all important *mss* collated, estimated, and truned to account. Since all divergent readings of any importance will be given in the critical notes, printed at the foot of the page, this edition will, for the first time, render it possible for the reader to have before him the entire significant *ms* evidence for each individual passage..... Since not even the seemingly most irrelevant line or stanza actually found in the *mb ms* collated for the edition, is on any account, omitted this edition of the *mb* will be, in a sense more complete than any previous edition. It will be a veritable thesaurus of the *Mb* tradition".

Further, B. says that Nīlakaṇṭha as a good Brahmin was concerned with the authoritativeness of the stories, as he was more conscious of this religious requirement. Now the question is: on what grounds is the authoritativeness of a story to be judged ? Is it on the grounds of 'religious requirements'? Again what does "religious requirements" imply? In that case, would not the authoritativeness of the story vary from sect to sect according to the beliefs of sectarian worshippers ?

(iv) "The modern pandits are now in the name of science trying to decide what is old enough to possibly date back to Vyāsa and use this as the basis for determining the authoritative version They have introduced the historical dimension into the realm of myth where it can not exist. For a long time, people have been aware of differences in local recensions or traditions but it has not occurred to them that these difference should be accounted for in terms of historical change. A criterion for decision could immediately be found in their own social group status."

In the above statement in the first two sentences B. appears to have misunderstood and misstated the work of modern scholars who have worked in the field of *mb* textual criticism. They do not claim to have restored texts dating back to Vyāsa; their only claim is that they have tried to restore the oldest possible text on the basis of available *mss* evidence. It is also a sweeping travesty of truth and a gross perversion to say that modern scholars have 'introduced historical dimensions into the realm of myth'. Even myths are studied scientifically by anthropologists But here the matter is quite otherwise. Are *mss* of different recensions and versions myths? Rather, the *mss* provide a sort of a historical material into which modern scholars like Sukthankar have probed and which they have surveyed in its historical dimensions. Modern scholars have made the material historically meaningful and significant to give us the oldest possible text based on principles of textual criticism. B. further says in the statement above that people have been aware of differences in local recensions or traditions, which differences (as she appears to suggest in the last sentence if we interpret it rightly), are accounted for by them as stemming from their own social group status What does B. exactly imply by 'social-group status'? Is it their particular sectarian creed or belief which made them introduce changes which are responsible for the differences in local recensions?—But such criteria are, again, subjective, as they are swayed by people's likes and dislikes of particular texts and must be pronounced as irrelevant and extraneous to the objective, scientific principles of textual criticism.

(v) "Any locally accepted version is authoritative in its own right Any scientific study should, first of all, preserve these variations and determine the kind of socio-religious ideas they conveyed to the people". The two sentences in this statement, the second following the first, are mutually contradictory in spirit. A locally accepted version is authoritative i. e regarded as the only true one by the local pandits or the people. Scientific study involves the comparison of recensions and versions and may reveal variations from one recension or version to another. If such variations are revealed, the science of textual criticism would try to account for these variations on objective principles based on the study of *ms* evidence, arrange them in their text-critical sequence

and place them as genuine or spurious, older or later, as the case may be. B. appears to insist in the second sentence that the variations in the particular version should be preserved that is, (if we interpret rightly), should be kept intact in their own original place, irrespective of what a scientific study may reveal or judge to the contrary ; in that case her reference to scientific study is meaningless, because scientific study presupposes that there is nothing authoritative in its own right unless and until it is proved to be so by the scientific method. The critical edition attempts to arrive at an authentic-not authoritative-text.

The *mb* grew through centuries into a national epic, a traditional book of inspiration which has been the cherished heritage of a whole people throughout India from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and has been preserved in numerous recentions written in different scripts. To say therefore, (as B. has said) that 'any locally accepted version (of the Epic) is authoritative' is to detract from the universal character of this national Epic, and make it a parochial text. The scientific study of the *mb*, on the other hand, based on the principles of textual criticism, takes into account this universal character of the Epic and sets about to discriminate, with as much precision and certainty as the *mss* material would allow, between the data of the rival recensions, and to evaluate correctly and confidently the amazingly large mss of variants The critical edition worked on such scientific principles, besides giving the constituted text, would also preserve the variations (found in recensions collated for this edition), (which B. wants to be preserved) only in their proper perspective and place in the framework of the critical apparatus. Thus the critical edition, while being scientific in its constitution of the oldest text, would also fulfil the desideratum of B. by providing, if only in a differently arranged form, the locally accepted version to the local pandits who should then be satisfied with their socio-religious ideas which the variations convey.

B.'s suggestion in the statement that 'any scientific study should determine the kind of socio-religious ideas which the variations conveyed to the people' belongs properly to the sphere of Higher criticism and not to sphere of lower criticism, namely, the textual criticism which restricts itself only to constituting the oldest text on the basis of available *ms* evidence and does not

occupy itself with probing into the socio-religious ideas of the people. This latter task belongs in the sphere of Higher Criticism which will study the constituted text, the variants in the critical apparatus, the passages in the Appendices and try to determine the different strata or stages through which the contents of the text appear to have passed and the kind of socio-religious ideas which the vatiations may have conveyed to the people.

B. has picked out certain statements, from the Prolegomena of Sukthankar, which appear to her, to be contradictory. In one of her statements she says: (p 116) "Sukthankar holds the idea of an old organic form which is the basis of all alterations, but he also says about this poem that, it, 'practically never existed'. This contradiction was brought to light by S. Levi". In another statement (p. 123) she says: "The editors up till now have concentrated on the reconstruction of a single text out of the several known recensions, but it is recognized by every body including the editors themselves, that such a text never existed".

The careful readers of the Prolegomena will be able to judge for themselves that B.'s above statements are based on quotations which are torn out of their context, and that they misrepresent the claims of the editors of the *mb*. We shall quote the relevant words of Sukthankar in their full context (p. 102-103).

"The essential fact in the *mb* textual criticism ..that the *mb* is not and never was a fixed rigid text, but is fluctuating epic tradition...Our objective should consequently not be to arrive at an archtype (which practically never existed), but to represent, view and explain the epic tradition in all its variety, in all its ramifications This is a problem in textual dynamics rather than in textual statics. To put in other words, the *mb* is the whole of the Epic tradition. the entire critical apparatus. Its separation into the constituted text and the critical notes is only a static representation of a constantly changing epic text . . "

The tenor of Sukthankar's words that 'an archtype practically never existed' is to point out the fundamentally fluctuating, fluid nature of the epic text which, according to him, set limits, inherent in this peculiar task, on the critical edition's attempt to arrive at the archtype. Sukthankar is quite clear in his further statement regarding the objective of the critical edition· He says (p. 102-103)·

"To prevent misconception in the mind of the casual reader, it is best to state at first what the constituted text is *not*. The editor is firmly convinced that the text presented in this edition is *not* anything like the autograph copy of the work of its mythical author, Vyāsa It is *not*, in any sense, a reconstruction of the Ur-mahābhārata or of the ur-Bhārata, that indeed but impossible desideratum. It is also not an exact replica of the poem recited by Vaiśampāyana before Janamejaya It is further wholly uncertain how close it approaches the tetxt of the poem said to be recited by the Sūta before Śaunaka . ."

"It is but a modest attempt to present a version of the epic as old as the extant manuscript material will permit us to reach with some semblance of confidence. It only claims to be the *most ancient one* according to the direct line of transmission......It may be regarded as the ancestor of all extant manuscripts, or to be precise, of the manuscripts examined and collated for this edition .. .."

It will be clear from the above rather extensive quotation from the Prolegomena of Sukthankar what, according to him, was the objective of the critical edition of the *mb*. Sukthankar and other editors of the *mb* never claimed to have aimed at a restoration of the original archtype or the Ur-mahābhārata. It will be relevant here to refer our readers to the controversy between Sukthankar and S. Levi which has been alluded to by Sukthankar in a foot-note on the page (p. 103) from which the above quotation has been taken. Sukthankar has quoted S. Levi who in a review of the critical edition of the Ādiparvan said in effect : "I advise the editor to renounce the reconstruction of the Ur-mahābhārata, as he is pleased to call it." Sukthankar has remarked on this statement that it is false, meaning thereby that the critical edition never claimed to have aimed at the reconstruction of the ur-Mahābhārata. It is certainly improper and unfair on the part of critics (e. g. S, Levi then and B now) to foist on the editors of the critical edition a claim which they never made but which, on the other hand, they clearly disavowed, and to find fault with them for their not having been able to fulfil it.

We have selected some statements from B.'s article which is full of vague generalizations and have subjected them to critical

analysis in which we have quoted, to answer her vague contentions, passages from the Prolegomena of Sukthankar himself—pioneer of *mb* textual criticism. It will be clear to the readers that many of the objections of B have already been dealt with in one form or another by Sukthankar. We regret to say that B in her article appears to have made no contribution to the *mb* textual criticism As we have pointed out in the beginning, B. has not given a single concrete illustration of a passage or passages from the critical edition of the *mb* in support of her vague contentions, When we consider that the critical edition of the *mb* after over forty years of labour which eminent scholars have put in in the field of textual criticism, stands before us as a *fait accompli*, vague statements made by B. in her article will no doubt appear on that background as not only full of antiquated or outdated ideas reminding one of Rip van Winkle but also of obscurantist ideas which militate against the very science of textual criticism

B has concluded her article by inviting the expressions of opinions on the points she has raised. We have expressed our opinion in the foregoing part of this article. Rather than being content with a more expression of our opinion, we would like to go a step further and, in the interest of the science of textual criticism, would like to make a request to her in the form of a concrete proposal. From her remarks on page 123 of her article, it appears that she is not against the critical edition of ancient texts as such. She says (p. 123): "Each version could be 'critically edited' to a certain extent". She wants that the ancient texts should be 'critically edited' to a certain extent. Now we would request her to come down from the level of generalities and try her hand at some such practical task of 'critically editing' a text to the extent which she may have in view. She should publish a sort of fascicule of a critically edited text, of some epic or Purāṇa passage, embodying her own suggestions (made on page 123 of her article) namely: "Publishing not only the different recensions but when necessary, different versions of each recension, publishing the different texts in parallel, checking the manuscript evidence and strengthening it through consultations with the people who have a firsthand knowledge of the epics and the purāṇas". The publication of such fascicule on her part would certainly be a practical demonstration of her thesis, thus rescuing her method

from the fog of generality and consequent ambiguity and would set the stage for fruitful discussion among serious students of textual criticism.

THE PURĀṆIC RECORDS ON THE SUN-WORSHIP

By

V. C. SRIVASTAVA

[अत्र लेखकमहोदयेन सौरसम्प्रदायविषये पौराणिकोल्लेखानाधारीकृत्य भारते वर्षे प्रचलितस्य सूर्योपासनोपासकादेः शोधपरो विचार ऐतिहासिकपद्धत्या कृतो वर्तते । वायु-विष्णु-ब्रह्माण्ड-मत्स्य-मार्कण्डेय-भविष्य-ब्रह्म-स्कन्द-वराह-अग्नि-गरुड-विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-भविष्योत्तर-कालिका-साम्बपुराणेषूपलब्धसामग्र्या ईशवीयशताब्द्याः प्रारम्भकालतः प्रचलितायाः सूर्योपासनायाः स्वरूपविकासयोः पर्याप्तं ज्ञानं प्राप्यते । प्राचीनतमेषु पुराणेषु वैदिकपरम्परायाः सम्यक् निर्वाहोऽस्ति । जगत्पातृत्वेन सूर्यस्य ख्याति. सवितृ-आदित्यप्रभृतिनामभिः प्रसिद्धतमैरस्य महत्त्वं 'जीवनः', 'ब्रह्मसत्कृतः' इत्थं प्रख्यापितमासीत् । सूर्यसम्बन्धे बहुविधो विचारः सूर्यव्रत-सूर्यकथा-सूर्यरथ-सूर्यवंश-सूर्यप्रतीकादीनां निर्देशपुरःसरं प्रस्तूयते । अर्वाचीनेषु च पुराणेषु यथा साम्ब-भविष्यपुराणयो. सूर्योपासनापद्धतिः प्रतीकश्च 'ईरान' देशीय सूर्योपासनायाः प्रभावबलात् साम्प्रदायिकतां गृह्णाति । शाकद्वीपीयमगानां वैदेशिक-पुरोहितानां सौरसम्प्रदायेन सम्बन्धस्य सम्भावनाऽत्तिरंजितेति निबन्धकृता प्रतिपादितम् । नैकविधमूलाधारान् प्रमाणीकृत्य तेन सौरसम्प्रदायस्य संकेत इतिहासग्रन्थेषु, विविधगृह्यक्रियाधर्मविधिषु च प्रचार इत्यादि विस्तरेण विवेचितम् ।]

The vast literature of the Purāṇas ranging from the 3rd century A.D. to the 12th century A D. and even beyond[1] supplies us with invaluable data for the study of religious history of the classical and the mediaeval Hindu periods of ancient India.[2]

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1. Kane, P.V., H.D.S., vol. II, pt. I., pp. XI-XII; Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp 1-189.
2. Pargiter, F E, E R.E., vol. X, p. 451 regards the Purāṇas as 'a popular encyclopaedia of ancient and mediaeval Hinduism'; Winternitz, M., A History of Indian Literature, vol I, p 521 emphasises this point, 'At all events they are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion... They afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism-its mythology, its idolworship, its theism and pantheism, its love of god, its philosophy and its superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies and its ethics, than any other works'.

There are many Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas-early as well as late which throw flood of light on different aspects of the growth and nature of the sun-worship as was found prevalent from the 1st century A D.[3] to the 12th or 13th century A.D. in ancient India. The sun-worship in some form or the other is mentioned in Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya, Brahma, Skanda, Varāha, Agni, Garuḍa, Viṣṇudharmottara, Bhaviṣyottara, Kālikā and Sāmba Purāṇas. No doubt, the question of the chronology of the Purāṇas and Purāṇic passages (because there have been changes, additions and interpolations many times in all Purānas) is a vexed problem,[4] but efforts have been made by the scholars to settle the question with fair amount of probability[5] and now the Purāṇic literature may be divided into early and late Purāṇic records. Of the various Purāṇas dealing with the sun and sun-worship, Viṣṇu,[6] (the last quarter of the 3rd or the first quarter of the 4th century A.D.), Vāyu[7] (3rd century A.D.) Mārkaṇḍeya[8] (3rd or 4th century A.D.), Brahmāṇḍa[9] (3rd-5th century A.D.) and Matsya[10] (last quarter of the 3rd or the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. and later) may be assigned in the first group.

3. Though no extant Purāṇa can be dated earlier than the 3rd century A D., yet it is probable that the picture of religion and society depicted in the earliest Purāṇic texts may be that of then contemporary India as well as of two three centuries before it.
4. Kane, P V., op cit. opines that the chronology of the Purāṇas like that of the epics, is a subject full of perplexing problems.
5. cf. Pusalker, A.D., Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India, pp. 205-230.
6. Hazra, R.C., op. cit., pp. 19-26. It has been dated differently such as by Pargiter, F.E., A.I.H.T., p. 80 (not earlier than the fifth century A D.); Farquhar, J.N., An outline of the Religious literature of India, p. 143 (400 A.D.), Winternitz, M., op. cit., p. 545, f.n. 2., (5th century A.D.), Vaidya, C.V., History of Mediaeval Hindu India, vol I, pp. 350 ff. and J.B.B.R.A.S., 1925, pp. 155 ff (9th century A.D), Dikshitar, V.R R., P.I H C., XIII, pp. 46-50 and I H Q., VIII, pp 370-71, (6th or 7th century B.C. and the major position of present Viṣṇu Purāṇa existed from the beginning of the Christian era)
7. Hazra, R.C., Purāṇic Records, pp. 13-17.
8. Ibid , pp. 8-17.
9. Ibid., pp. 17-19.
10 Ibid., pp. 26-52 cf. Karmarkar, A.P., Karmarkar Comm. vol. pp. 77-81 regards it as the earliest extant Purāṇa.

The second group of late Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas consists of Bhavisya (500 A.D.—1200 A.D.),[11] Brahma[12] (900-1200 A.D.), Skanda[13] (700 A.D. and later), Varāha[14] (800 A.D.—1400 A.D.), Agni[15] (9th century A.D. and later), Garuḍa[16] (10th century A.D. and later), Visṇudharmottara (400-500 A.D.)[17], Bhaviṣyottara,[18] Kālikā (between the 10th and the 11th century A.D.)[19] and Sāmba (500-1500 A.D.).[20]

The earlier Purāṇic texts continue the older Vedic, Epic and Smṛti traditions of the sun-worship with minor changes and additions to suit the changed conditions. Āditya becomes a common name for Sūrya (the sun-god) with which he is identified.[21] Thus in the Vāyu[22] and the Brahmāṇḍa[23] Purāṇas this term has been enumerated with various other names of Sūrya The Matsya Purāṇa[24] prescribes the worship of the sun under the name of Āditya in Avimukta-tīrtha ceremony. In the prayer of Yājña-valkya addressed to the sun-god, Āditya figures as one of the names of the deity in the Visṇu Purāṇa.[25] Regarding the origin of Ādityas

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11, Ibid., pp. 167-173.

12. Ibid., pp 145-156.

13. Ibid., pp 151-165

14 Ibid., pp 96-106.

15. Ibid , pp 134-140, Choudhury S B , J A H R S III, pp 127-134 places it between the middle of the 8th and the middle of 9th century A D.

16 Ibid., pp 141-144, Sastri, H P places it in third-fourth century A D. but his view is disproved by Choudhury, S B , I H.Q , VI, pp. 553-560 who places it in the 10th or the 11th century A.D.

17. Hazra, R C , J.U G , III, pp 39-64

18. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol. II, p. 345.

19. Hazra, R C., A B O.R I , XXII, pp 1-23, Gode, P.K., J.O.R., pp. 289-294, puts the date of this Purāna before 1000 A.D.; Raghavan, V., J O R., XII, pp 331-360 gives 700 A.D. as the earlier limit, Sharma, T.N., I.H.Q. XXIII, pp. 323-326, places it to the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century A.D.

20. Hazra, R.C. studies in the Upa-purānas, vol I, p 93.

21. Roy. S. N., Early Purāṇic Account of Sun and SolarCult, University of Allahabad Studies, 1964 p 1-44

22. Vāyu P , XXXI-37

23. Brahmāṇḍa P , II-13-125

24. Matsya P., CLXXXIV-31 'Ādityopāsanām kṛtvā'

25. Visṇu P , III-5-24 'Ādityādibhūtāya...namo namaḥ'.

who are twelve in number it has been narrated[26] that the gods called Tusitas of the Cākṣuṣamanvantara came to be known as Ādityas in the Vaivasvata manvantara. They were born out of the womb of Aditi which was the result of their pre-planned determination of enjoying the rank of gods in the next manvantara again. Ādityas along with other celestial beings occupy the orb of the sun and support his chariot in each month[27] and lend their fiery lustre to the sun[28] It is said that in the beginning of creation the solar phenomenon came to be named Āditya not because he was son of Aditi but because he was first born.[29] This semantic etymological derivation is a departure form old practice and is a Purāṇic device.[30] These twelve Ādityas are Viṣṇu, Śakra, Aryaman, Dhṛti, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan, Vivasvat, Savitṛ, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṃsa and Bhaga[31] and have been assigned to different months.[32] It is interesting to find that the solar nature of Viṣṇu, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Aryaman, Vivasvat and Bhaga is not lost. Pūṣan has been compared with Āditya.[33] Savitr is one of the different names applied to the sun in the prayer offered by Yājñavalkya[34] Savitṛ along with Aryaman has again been applied to the sun in the description of the northern part of the solar sphere.[35] According to Purāṇas[36] a householder offers water to the sun saluting the deity by the names of Vivasvān and Savitṛ, the former being radiant and glory of Viṣṇu, the latter being granter of the fruits of acts. This is in conformity with Sūtra tradition of "arghya" to the Sun-god. In some early Purāṇas Savitṛ has been described as one of the epithets of Sūrya who is also called Āditya and Bhānu.[37] It is stated that

26. Viṣṇu. P., I-15-126-131; Vāyu P., LXVI-66-67; Brahmāṇḍa P. III-2-67-69; Matsya-P., VI-3-5.

27. Viṣṇu-P., II-10-19.

28. Matsya-P, CXXVI-25.

29. Mārkaṇḍeya, P., Ch. 102-14.

30 Agarwala, V. S., Matsya Purāṇa-A Study, p. 21.

31. Viṣṇu-P., I-XV-17.

32 Wilson, H. H., (Tr.) Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, p 192.

33. Viṣṇu-P, I-9-63

34 Ibid., III-5-24

35. Ibid, II-8-92.

36. Ibid., III-11-39, 40.

37. Vāyu-P., XXXI-37, states 'Ādityaḥ Savitā Bhānuḥ Jīvanaḥ-brahmasatkṛtaḥ. cf. Brahmāṇḍa-P., II-13-125.

in Cākṣusa manvantara Sūrya began to be called Vivasvān[38] Satrājita worshipped sun god as Vivasvān[39] and Brahmā also adored him as Vivasvān in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.[40] Further it is enjoined[41] in connection with Mandāra-Saptamī vrata that a devotee should salute the sun in the name of Aryamā and Pūsan in the south-west and north-directions respectively and on the occasion of the Saṅkrānti-vrata it ordains that in south-west and north directions sun should be worshipped in the name of Savitr and Bhaga No doubt, the Purāṇas were following the old Vedic tradition in this respect but there is one significant departure in the sense that Mārtaṇḍa—one of the Ādityas in Brāhmaṇas is conspicuous by his absence in this group though it always stands for the sun god in the Purāṇas.[42] In connection with the Saṅkrānti-vrata it is prescribed that the sun should be worshipped in the name of Mārtaṇḍa in northern direction[43] The sun is known as Mārtaṇḍa because of its flashing out of the Brahmāṇḍa[44] Similar explanation is given in other early Purāṇas. The primeaval egg was divided into two parts by Tvaṣṭā. The sun sprang from it which was apparently dead (Mrta) but was actually alive. Mārtaṇḍa is so known because it came out of the dead egg.[45]

It is significant to point out that in the early Purānas the sun-god has been worshipped mainly in his benevolent role.[46] He is a great benefactor of humanity. This feature is essentially Rgvedic in origin. It is stated in typical Purāṇic fashion that the gods, men and demons depend upon the sun-god mainly because this god extracts waters for eight months of the year from various sources and pours them on the earth during remaining four months. It is due to rain that corn grows and the world subsists. It is further said that sometimes the sun pours down water with his

38. Vāyu-P., LXXXIV-29; Brahmāṇḍa-P , II-59-30

39 Vāyu-P., IVC-22 ; Brahmāṇḍa-P., III-71-23.

40. 103-5 to 12.

41. Roy. S. N , Paurāṇic Dharma evam Samāja, p 53.

42 Matsya-P., LXXIX-6, 7.

43 Matsya-P., XLVIII-6 ,

44. Ibid , II-36 ; Mārkaṇḍeya-P., Ch. 105-19

45. Vāyu-P , LXXXIV-26-29, Brahmāṇḍa-P , III-59-27 to 30.

46. Roy. S. N., Early Purāṇic account of Sun and solar cult, p. 48

rays while he is still shining in the sky and there is no cloud.[47] It is due to his benevolent quality that the sun-god is also called as 'Jīvana' and Brahma-satkṛta (honoured by Brahmā whose creation is nourished by him[48]). In the present context the title 'Brahma-satkṛta' has no sectarian affiliation but may have given opportunity to later sectarian works to derive inspiration from such terms. All these beneficial qualities are described in connection with 'Saura-Vratas' described in Purāṇas[49] and legend of Rājyavardhana.[50] But from the above description inference should not be drawn that the malevolent aspect was not known at all. In Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa there are reference to the destructive role of the Sungod.[51] The main reason for emphasis upon the benevolent aspect of the Sun-worship in the early Purāṇas lies in the fact that the Purāṇic theology centres round "theism".[52]

The early Purāṇas give elaborate description of the sun's chariot, its different parts, horses and celestial beings. The sun's chariot is nine thousand yojanas in length. It consists of a pole which is twice of that longitude. Its axle is fifteen millions and seven hundred thousand yojanas long. On this axle a wheel is fixed which has three naves, five spokes and six peripheries. On the whole the wheel constitutes the circle or wheel of time. The seven horses which carry the chariot has been identified with the seven Vedic metres. The chariot is presided over by Ādityas, Ṛṣis, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Yakṣas, Sarpas and Rākṣasas. In every month these heavenly bodies occupy it in seven seats and perform their specific duties for enhancing the lustre and strength of the chariot.[53] Other early Purāṇas[54] give similar descriptions with the difference that the total length and breadth of the chariot in them is ten thousand yojanas and it is said to have been constructed by Brahmā. The association of the sun-god with a chariot drawn by horses

47. Viṣṇu-P., II-9-7., Mārkaṇḍeya P , 27-23
48 Vāyu-P., XXXI-37 , Brahmāṇḍa-P., II-13-125. Such titles are also given to sun in the epics and this legend of giving rain is also mentioned in the epics cf. MBH., III-3-146.
49. Matsya P. Chs. 74-78, 85-89.
50. B. Mārkaṇḍeya-P , Ch 109-62-78 , 110-1 to 5.
51. Ibid Ch. 103-2 to 12 , 105-39
52. Macnicol, N., Indian theism, p. 7, 20.
53. Viṣṇu.P., II-2-2 to 7; II-10-1 ff.
54. Vāyu-P., I-89-90 ; Brahmāṇḍa-P., I.82-83 , Matsya-P., CXXVI-9ff.

is Vedic in origin[55] and thus the early Purāṇas continue the tradition with elaborate descriptions. The Sungod has been identified with "Time" in the early Purāṇas.[56] This explains the number of 12 Ādityas and seven horses in chariot of sun.[57]

The early Purāṇas are conscious of the existence of a family of the sun-god a tendency which is already prevalent in the epics[58]. Samjñā the daughter of Visva-karman is mentioned as a wife of the sun and three children of the sun-Yama, Yamī and Manu are also referred to[59]. Some early Purāṇas narrate the story of Chhāyā-shadow of his queen and refer to attendants also [60] The story of the cutting of the rays of the sungod is referred to in the early Purāṇas.[61]

In the early Purāṇas, Agni—the fire god is placed as inferior to Sūrya in marked contrast to the high position given to Agni in the Vedic literature.[62] In some Purāṇas Agni in the form of Kāla is regarded as nothing else than the essence of Sūrya.[63] At other place[64] it is more explicitly referred to that Kālāgni is Sūrya himself. The sun has been described as the cause of the regulation of day and night[65] a conception which is Rgvedic in origin.[66] It appears that the sun was regarded as remover of evil effects as it is said that if heretics are seen the wise men should look at the sun.[67] His connection with eye is not forgotten and he is

55. Macdonell, A A , V M , pp 30-31

56 Vāyu P. XXXI-29, Viṣṇu. P , II-VIII-12., Mārkaṇḍeya P Ch. 104-36.

57 Agarwala, V. S., Matsya P., A study, p. 210-12.

58. M. B H -I-203-34, cf. Karmarkar, A P , Religion and Philosophy of the Epics., Cul Her of India, vol. II, p. 81.

59. Viṣṇu-P., III-2.

60. Matsya-P., XI-32-36 , Viṣṇu-P., III-2 ; Mārkaṇḍe ya-P Ch. 78-32-34.

61 Viṣṇu-P , III-2. Mārkaṇḍeya P. II-6-108.

62. Keith, A. B., op. cit., p. 154 cf. R. V., X-88-11 etc. Macdonell A. A., op. cit., pp. 30-31

63. Vāyu-P., XXXI-29 'Ādityastvasau sūraḥ Kālāgniḥ'.

64. Brahmāṇḍa-P., II-13-117 'Ādityastu asau Sūryaḥ Kālāgniḥ'

65. Viṣṇu-P., II-VIII-12.

66 Macdonell, A A , op cit. pp. 30-31

67. Viṣṇu-P , III-XVIII-97.

regarded as presiding over eyes.[68] He becomes seven-fold at the end of the world.[69]

There are many legends in the early Purāṇas which may be specially associated with the sun-worship—firstly, the legend of Yājñavalkya, secondly, that of Satrājita, thirdly, worship of the Sungod by Brahmā,[70] fourthly, worship of the Sungod by Aditi and fifthly, adoration of the Sungod by Rājyavardhana. According to Purāṇas Yājñavalkya invoked the sun to get the text of the Yajus He worshipped him as the gate of liberation, the fountain of bright radiance, the triple source of splendour as the Ṛk, the Yajur and the Sāmavedas. He as fire and the moon is one with the cause of the universe-one with the notion of time and all its divisions of hours, minutes and seconds, He is to be meditated upon as the visible form of Viṣṇu, as the impersonation of the mystic 'OM', he nourishes troops of the gods, having filled the moon with his rays, who feeds Pitrs with his nectar and ambrosia and who nourishes mankind with rain. Brahmā is nothing but the sun in the form of the three seasons, he alone is the dispeller of darkness of this earth of which he is the sovereign lord. He is clad in the raiment of purity. Man is incapable of devout acts until his rising. Touched by his rays the world is filled with religious rites He is the centre and source of purification. He is the eye of the universe born in a golden car whose banners scatter ambrosia. The sun gave him Yajus in the form of a horse. In view of the fact that the story does not find mention in the Vedas, it has been suggested[71] that it is a Purāṇic invention but this view is not acceptable as the legend is found in the epics[72] and therefore it may be regarded as continuing the epic tradition. In the above descriptions certain well marked features of the sun-worship comes into prominent relief such as the identity of the sun with Time, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and OM etc., the description of the sun as nourisher and raingiver, as the visible symbol of invisible reality, as symbol

68. Ibid., III-V-24.

69 Ibid., VI-3-3.

70 Viṣṇu-P , V-III-5, Vāyu-P., 69-209-210; Brahmāṇḍa-P., II-35-14-26. It occurs in some late Purāṇas also cf. Bhāgavata-P , 12-6; Skanda-P., Nāgarakhaṇḍa, 61-5.

71. Wilson, H H (Tr.) Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, p. 280.

72, MBH -Śānti-Parvan-61-5

of purity and source of all Vedas. All these features are Vedic in origin. In view of the fact that the sun god has been described as cause of the universe, the gate of liberation, the sovereign lord and identical with ultimate reality, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Vedas and Time etc., his supremacy has been clearly stated and therefore may be regarded as containing germs of the sectarian sun-worship, if not an example of sectarianism itself. This description of the sun-worship tallies with the epic description[73] of the sectarian solar worship and also with later Purānic passages[74] on the sun-sect.

The second story of Satrājita is also significant from the point of view of the sun-worship. Satrājita worshipped the sun and received from him Syamantaka gem as boon. He repaired to Dvārakā where people welcomed him. Here Āditya appeared in the human form with reddish eye, dwarfish stature burnished as copper.[75] The significance of the legend lies in the fact that it refers indirectly to the image of the sun when it is said that Āditya appeared in the human form. Secondly, the region of the story is Dvārakā which was associated with later sectarian sun-worship.[76] Moreover, many sun temples and inscriptions referring to the sun worship in sectarian form have also come to light from this very region during the same period.[77] All these definitely go to indicate that the early Purāṇas were conscious of the sectarian sun-worship as will be evident from their familiarity with the sun-worship in the human form—a fact indicative of image worship because the old Vedic tradition believed in the worship of the sun in the form of disc. or wheel or rayed orb[78] though no doubt anthropomorphic[79] descriptions of the sun-god are found in the Vedic literature. The story appears to be a faint echo of the story of Sāmba, found in the later Purāṇas.

73. Ibid, III-3-5

74 Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Ch. II.

75. Viṣṇu-P., IV-13. In Vāyu-P, IVC-22 Satrājita is described as sun's friend 'Satrājitaḥ Sūryasakhā'. Brahmāṇḍa-P, III-71-23.

76. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Ch. III

77. Sankalia, H D., op cit, pp. 212-214 Bhattacharya, H.D., The Age of of Imperial Kanauj, ed Majumdar, R.C., p. 332.

78. R.V., I-175-4; IV-28-2, 30-4; V-29-10 S B., VII-4-1-10.

79. Macdonell, A.A., op. cit., pp. 30-31.

The worship of the sungod by Brahma[80], Aditi[81] and Rājya-varḍdana[82] are found in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa which show familiarity of this Purāṇa with sectarian form of the sun-worship.[83]

There is one significant reference to the sun-worship in the Vāyu-Purāṇa In description of Vāyupur there appears to be an allusion to the setting up of an image of Vādāditya by the god Vāyu It has been suggested[84] that this Vādāditya is none else but the sun-god or Sūrya. The suggestion appears to be probable in view of the following description found in the Vāyu Purāṇa. It is stated that the peoples of the place were called Vādavas whose customs were many and varied. Yājñavalkya and his pupils were inflicted with the sin of 'Brahmahatyā' On the advice of Brahmā they worshipped the god Vālukeśvara of twelve beams (dvādaśārka i. e. the sun) in the city of Vāyupur and had their baths in the tanks at that place. One of the four was known as Sūrya-kuṇḍa. Then they adored Vādava, the lord of the north, and merged themselves into the world of Sūrya (Sūrya-maṇḍalam)[85]. Of Yājña-valkya, it is stated, that he returned what he had learnt about the Vedas to his teacher and concentrated his mind on the sun-god. As a result of these efforts the god in the form of a horse gave a new saṁhitā to Yājñavalkya. The Rākṣasas named Yātudhānas—ten in number—were the followers of Sūrya and wandered with the deity.[86] Bhauvana who appears to be a demon offered a prayer to the sun-god with the Rathāntarasāman and was immediately turned into an elephant.[87] In the Kiṁśuka forest the Siddhas pay homage to Āditya.[88] Sūrya in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa begged of the king Arjuna the whole earth for alms. The above description from Vāyu Purāṇa may be regarded as containing many basic ideas of the sun-worship. Firstly, the familiarity of the Purāṇa with sun

80 Ch. 101-103.

81 Ch- 104-105.

82 Ch. 109-10

83 See Agrawala, V. S, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Eka Sānskritika Adhyayana

84. Patil, D.R., Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, p. 67. cf. his appendix No. 1422.

85. Ibid, cf. App. No. 1423.

86. Vāyu-P., 69-128, 'Sūryasyānucarā hyete Saha tena Bhramanti'.

87. Ibid., 69-209-10.

88. Ibid., 38-31-2.

images is clearly indicated when it is stated that Rāksasas roam along with the deity, that they worshipped god Vālukeśvara of twelve beams in the city of Vāyupur—most probably refers to the worship of a sun image in a temples[89] and that they set up Vādavāditya. Further the tradition of having Sūrya-kuṇḍa which become quite 'common in classical and mediaeval Hindu India'[90] appears to have been in vogue in early Purānic times as a Sūrya-kuṇḍa is mentioned here Thirdly, both Āryan and non-Āryan or indigenous peoples of India believed in the sun-worship as is apparent from the fact that besides Yājñavalkya and his pupils Rākṣasas and Yātudhānas—representative of the non-Āryan element in Indian society[91] have also been associated with the sun-worship. Moreover, siddhas (Yogis) also paid homage to the sun-god in forests. It has been suggested that yogic practices such as meditation and concentration have prominent place in the ancient Indian sun-worship[92] and this becomes more prominent after 7th or 8th century A. D after its association with Tāntrika practice specially in Pañcopāsanā.[93]

It has been suggested[94] that it is just possible that the Vādavas might have been foreigners like Magas of Sāmba and other Purāṇas Though there is no positive evidence to this effect, yet there are internal evidences in the Purāṇa which may lend support to the suggestion. Firstly, it is specifically mentioned in case of Vādavas that their customs were varied and many while no such description is given of Rāksasas and Yātudhānas who may have been indigeneous tribes of India while Vādavas may have

89 Patil, D R, op cit., p. 192.

90. Sankalia, H.D, op. cit, pp 212-214

91. Keith, A B. and Macdonell, A A, Vedic Index, vol II Ārṣeya Upaniṣad quoted by Belvalkar, S K. and Ranade, R.R., History of Indian Philosophy, vol. II, p. 298 refers to a class of Puṇḍras, Suhmas, Udumbhas, Dardas and Barabaras who were sun-worshippers. In MBH, III-3-5 the sun god is adored by Siddhas and Gandharvas. Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumargupta also refers to the worship of the sun-god by Siddhas, Kinnaras and Gandharvas etc. cf. Fleet, J F, C.I I., vol III, pp 79-88.

92. Hazra, R C., Studies in the Upa-purānas, vol. I, p. 36.

93 Banerjea, J N., Pañcopāsanā, ch. XIII.

94. Patil, D R., op. cit., p. 192.

been foreigners and therefore the need was specially felt to emphasise the varied nature of their customs. Secondly, the god Vālukeśvara who was nothing else than the sun-god is specially mentioned as 'Dvādaśārka', of twelve beams. It is interesting to note that the Magas—the foreign priests also worshipped the sun god in his twelfth form[95]. Thirdly, it is significant to note that Yājñavalkya returned the teachings of the Vedas and then worshipped the sun-god as if the worship of the sun god was something outside the sacred tradition of the Vedic worship. All these only hint that there may have been some foreign elements in the worship of the sun represented by the Vādavas, though it needs confirmation by other reliable sources.

The Vāyu Purāṇa[96] expressly states that in the Gayātīrtha there are installed four images of Sūrya which are expressions of four different yugas and if they are seen, touched and worshipped liberation of the ancestor is guaranteed. In sūtras also the sun worship is prescribed in śrāddha[97].

The Matsya Purāṇa gives detailed instructions regarding the construction of solar images thereby indicating that the practice of making image for the sun-god was already an established fact and therefore there was need for rules and regulations. According to this Purāṇa[98] the image of the sun should be made with beautiful eyes, seated in a chariot and holding a lotus. There should be seven horses and one cakra in the chariot of the sun and a coronet beaming red should be placed on his head. He should be decorated with ornaments and the two hands as holding blue lotuses and the latter should also be placed on his shoulders as if in a sport. His body should be shown as covered with a bodice of two pieces of cloth. The feet should not be made, it should be brilliant, otherwise he would suffer leprosy. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala should be placed as guards with swords in their hands. Aruṇa and snake etc. should also be there. The sun-god should be either seated on the chariot or on the lotus and holding a lotus.

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95 Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa, 3.3 'Dvādaśa bhāgena mitreṇa'.

96. Vāyu. P., CVIII-36.

97. S. G. S., IV-1-8, A. G. S., IV-6-18, H. G. S., II-5-14. 3.

98. Matsya-P., CCLXI-1-7; XCIV-1.

It has been suggested[99] that these passages referring to the sun image are late and interpolations. It is significant to point out that in some earlier Purānas[100] the legend of not depicting feet is found as the sun because of his dazzling heat became unbearable and Viśvakarman diminished the dazzling parts of the sun in order that the latter might become bearable to Samjñā It is probable that the passages may be late interpolations but there is no mention of the northerner's dress (Udīcyavesa) which was a characteristic of the sun image from the Kusāna period onwards and is also found repeatedly referred to in the technical literature[101] and later Purāṇas.[102] It may be the Indian method of depicting sun images as found in the earlier sun images.[103] Though the number of horses here is four generally while in this Purāṇa it is given as seven. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala are not seen in early sun-icons though they are mentioned in the Matsya Purāna.

The testimony of the Matsya Purāṇa is again revealing in the sense that it demonstrates the popularity of the sun god in various domestic vows.[104]

The main ceremony of the Kalyānasaptamī vrata also called Vijaya saptamī to be celebrated on the sundays, 7th day of a bright fortnight, centres round the worship of the sun with flowers, sandals, white clothes, incense, eatables and raw sugar along with salt and fruits. Eight pictures of the sun-god should be drawn on eight petals of the lotus and following mantra should be recited

'Tapanāya namaḥ, Mārtaṇḍāya namaḥ, Bhāskarāya namaḥ,

Vikartanāya namḥ, Ravaye namaḥ'

beginning with the pictures on eastern, south-eastern, southern, south-western, western, north-western, northern and north-eastern

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99 Hazra, R. C., Purāṇic Records, p 48 places these passages at a date not earlier than 650 A. D (550-650 A. D.). Dr S. N Roy, thinks that it is not unjustified to regard these passages earlier than 550 A D., Paurāṇic Dharma evam Samāja. p. 165

100 Viṣṇu-P., III-2-2 The story is repeated with elaboration in later Purāṇas as Sāmba Upa-p., chs. 12-15.

101. Varāhmihira, Bṛhat-Samhitā, ch. 57

102. Viṣṇudharmottara, III-67-2

103. Banerjea, J N , op cit , pp , 432-33.

104. Roy, S N., Early Purāṇic account of sun and solar cult, p. 55-57.

sides. He is also called supreme self. The reward of this Kalyāna-saptamī vrata is liberation from all sins, long life and prosperity.[105]

In the Viśokāsaptamī vrata,[106] to be observed on the sixth and seventh days of the bright fortnight in Māgha month[107] the lotus is worshipped as the sun (Arkāya namaḥ) with red Kanera flowers and a piece of red cloth with invocation —'O Āditya as this world becomes free from all grief at thy rising, in the same way let me also be free from sorrow in all my lives and may I have always faith in thee' This results in freedom from sorrow for a period of ten Padmas and also from diseases and attainment of bliss and unification with Brahmā. One reference in it is worth mentioning. It is that the devotee prays for everlasting faith in the divinity a features of the Bhakti cult[108] which was responsible for the later sectarianism.[109]

Phalasaptamī-vrata[110] is also a solar vow to be performed on the seventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of mārgaśīrṣa. Here the golden image is to be worshipped under various names such as Bhānu, Arka, Ravi, Sūrya and Vibhāvasu etc. for attainment of endless fruits, prosperity and liberation from diseases and the image is to be given to the Brāhmaṇas.

The Śarkarāsaptamī-vrata[111] is to be observed on the 7th day of a bright fortnight in Vaiśākha in honour of the sun by drawing lotus on an altar and reciting 'savitrāy namaḥ'. This is done for prosperity for sons and grandsons and ultimate emancipation One who reads or listens this obtains the region of the sun.

The Kamalāsaptamī[112] vrata is to be observed on the 7th day of a bright fortnight in spring in which golden lotus in a golden vessel as the sun should be worshipped under different names 'Kamalahastāya namaḥ, Viśvadharmāya namaḥ, Divākarāya namaḥ,

105 Matsya-P , 74-5 to 9, 15-16 & 18

106. Ibid , 75-4, 10, 12.

107. Bhattasala, N.K., Ineonography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, p. 148 The vrata of Māgha maṇḍala is essentially a solar vrata.

108. Gītā, XVIII-62-66 also envisages for absolute faith in the divinity.

109 Macnicol, N., Indian Theism

110. Matsya-P., ch. 76.

111. Matsya-P., ch. 77.

112. Ibid., Ch. 78, 85 to 89.

Prabhākarāya namaḥ'. One who observes this ordinance becomes possessed of inexhaustible wealth and goes to the kingdom of the sun.

The Mandārasaptamī[113] vrata to be performed on the seventh day in the month of Māgha enjoins the worship of the golden image of the sun along with eight petalled lotus under the name of Bhāskara (god of East), Sūrya (god of South-East), Arka (god of South), Aryamā (god of South-West). Vedadharmiṇe (god of West), Caṇḍa-bhānu (god of North-West), Pūṣan (god of West) Ānand (god of North-East). This is meant for freedom from all sins.

In Śubhasaptamī vrata golden ox and golden cow is to be worshipped as born of sun under the mantra 'Aryamā prīyatām'.[114]

The Sūrya-sankrānti vrata[115] to be performed on the day of ecquinoxes or solstices enjoins the worship of the sun by drawing eight petalled lotus under different names : Āditya (East), Savitṛ (South-West), Tapana (West), Bhaga (North-West), Mārtaṇḍa (North), Viṣṇu (North-East), Sūrya in pericap of the lotus. The arghya consisting of water, sandals and flowers should be placed on the floor as an oblation to the sun One who observes it is honoured by devas in the realm of Indra.

Besides the worship of the sun on these occasions, the general worship of the sun on sunday is prescribed[116] by drawing 12 petalled lotus with red sandal. To the east of it he places after salutations Sūrya, to the south-east-Divākara, to the south Vivasvān, to the south-west Bhaga, to the west Varuṇa, to the north-east Mahendra, to the north Āditya and to the north-east Savitr. In the forepart of the lotus the horses of the sun should be inscribed, in the south Aryamān, in the west Mārtaṇḍa ; on the northern petal Ravi and Bhāskara on the pericap of the lotus. He has been described as the soul of the universe, the basis of Rk, Yajus and Sāmavedas. One who observes this ritual is freed from all sins and goes to the solar region It is stated that Sūrya-vrata is one of the sixty ordinances explained by Śiva[117] and thus it gives a

113. Ibid , ch. 79.
114 Ibid , ch. 80.
115 Ibid., ch 98.
116. Ibid., 97-5-9.
117. Matsya-P., CI-63.

divine origin to this. A perusal of all these Sūrya-vratas will reveal to us that there was development of a cult of the sun-worship in the sense that a procedure was already evolved for this worship. This included in the main arghya of water, flower and sandal etc. depiction of the sun pictures in lotus, salutation to the sun and recitation of mantras to the sun under different names. The seventh day in a bright fortnight was specially sacred for the sun-worship and red colour was also sacred to the sun god. The sun is specially prayed for deliverance from the sin—a feature which is very old. Besides the worship of the sun by the depiction of eight petalled lotus, it was also to be done by means of a golden image of the sun. But there is no provision for the public worship of the sun god as there is no mention of the worship in a temple. This worship was in the form of domestic 'pūjā'. In view of the fact that the sun has been called as the soul of the universe, and bases of all Vedas, the solar sectarianism is hinted at as three constituents-supremacy of the god, fixed procedure of worship and exclusiveness are found in these solar vows. It has been suggested[118] that passages referring to Saura-vratas are later which appears to be quite probable But as the worship of the sun by means of arghya, salutation and recitation of mantras is mentioned in the sūtras[119] it may be regarded as continuing the earlier tradition of the sun-worship, of course, with detailed additions to the procedure. The sun-worship has been prescribed as one of the daily obligations to be performed by every house-holder. It has been said that he should raise his mouth and offer water to the sun. On this occasion he should touch his forehead with his hands. Then he should recite verses

'Namo vivasvate brahma bhāsavate
Viṣṇutejase jagatsavitre sucaye karmasākṣiṇe'[120]

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118 Hazra, R C., Purāṇic Records, p. 43. Chapters 74 to 80 of the Matsya-Purāṇa may be dated between 550-650 A.D. as they mention week days and the earliest mention of week days is found in Eran Inscription of 484 A.D. cf Fleet, J.F.C II, vol. VII, p. 88-89 and there are other internal evidences to this effect.

119 Kane, P.V., op. cit., vol. II, pt. II, pp. 705-740.

120 Viṣṇu-P.

It is interesting to note that Sūrya and Śiva have been identified in some early Purāṇas [121] Further in Karmayoga the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya is prescribed where they are to be considered as 'abhinna' (not different from one another).[122] This tendency of religious syncreticism is a characteristic of the ancient Indian religious development[123] and is further amplified in the later sectarian literature of India[124] and is vouchsafed by the iconography[125] and epigraphy.[126] A parallel development may be traced in the religious life of Hinduised south-east Asia where Sūrya and Śiva are not differentiated particularly in Java[127]

It has been suggested[128] that the sun occupies a subordinate position in relation to Viṣṇu in early Purāṇas. But it is difficult to agree with the view mainly because the suggestion has been made purely on the basis of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa which is a sectarian Purāṇa specially associated with Vaiṣṇava sect. It would be no surprise if the sun is subordinated to Viṣṇu in a Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇa as in a Saura Purāṇa like Sāmba, Viṣṇu and others are subordinated to Sūrya.[129] Moreover, in some early Purāṇas[130] Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sūrya all four are regarded as indistinguishable

121. Matsya-P., LV-3-5
122. Ibid., 52-23.
123. Bhattacharya, H.D., Age of Imperial Kanauj. (Ed.) Majumdar, R. C., pp. 327-28. Banerjea, J. N., Pañcopāsanā, ch. XIII points out that Pañcopāsanā is the best expression of the relgious syncreticism in ancient India. Monier Williams, W., Religious thought and life in India, pp 411-12.
124. Brahma-P, 33-11-14. Sūrya Upa-Purāṇa-2.; Kālikā-P., 74-113., Agni-P, 73, Mārkaṇḍeya-P., 109-5-79
125 Banerjea, J N., op cit.
126. Fleet, J. F., C. I I., vol. III, pp. 288-89, Nirmand Copper Plate Inscription also testifies to the combined worship of Śiva and Sūrya.
127. Biswas, D. K., Sūrya and Śiva, I H Q., vol. 24, 1948, p. 142ff. Majumdar R C, Suvarṇadvīpa, vol. I, points out that Sūrya-Sevana of Java is nothing but the worship of Śiva and Sūrya in a synthetic form While worshipping Śiva the devotee uses the hymn-Sūryāya namaḥ Arkāya namaḥ' The kūtra mantra of Java also identifies them–Om, Hri Hrī Sah Sivasūryaparantejassvarupāya-namaḥ' cf Friederich, R., The Civilisation and Culture of Bali.
128. Roy, S N, Early Purānic Account of Sun and Solar cult, p. 41.
129. Hazra, R C., Studies in the Upapurāṇas, vol. I, p. 36.
130. Matsya-P., 52-23

thus indicating equality of all four gods The place of pride that is given to the sun god in connection with the legend of Yājña-valkya[131] and reference to "Sauradarśana[132]" is a pointer in the direction that the sun was not occupying a subordinate position. Further in vows, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Saura have been given equal opportunity[133] in early Purāṇas. In some early Purāṇas the sun-worship has been associated with the worship of nine Grahas.[134] This association of the sun worship with nine Grahas finds expression in ancient Indian arts also.[135]

The later Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas of the second category mentioned in the beginning of this article may be taken to reveal the religious condition of India from the 6th-7th century A. D. to the 12th or 13th century A. D. The Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa and Sāmba Upa-purāṇa are the most comprehensive and complete documents of the sun-worship in its sectarian form influenced by the advent of the Magas in ancient India. It has rightly been argued that most of the verses of the first group[136] of the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa are found to occur in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa which may have been the borrower.[137] The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, therefore, does not provide us with any additional information regarding the sun-worship as compared to the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa. Moreover, the verses showing the sectarian form of the sun-worship found in Skanda,

131. Viṣṇu-P , V-3-5, Vāyu-P , 59-209-10, Brahmāṇḍa-P., II-35, III-26.
132. Vāyu-P., 104-16. Jñānārṇavatantra, 16-131-134 also refer to it Handiqui, K.K., Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 218.
133. Matsya-P., 92-101.
134. Ibid., Ch. 93.
135. Banerjea, J.N., op. cit., pp. 441-45.
136. Hazra, R C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol. I, p. 57 divides the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa into two groups : Group I, Chapters 1-38, 44-46, 84, Group II, Chaps 39-43, 43-83. Hazra, R.C., op. cit., p. 93 after careful examination has settled the date of different chapters as follows;

Group I, Chapters (except verses 17-25), 2-15, 16, 18-21, 24-32, 34-38, 46 & 84 composed between 500 A.D. and 800 A.D. (probably towards the beginning of this period). Chs. 17, 22-23 added later than 950 A.D., Ch. 33 added between 700 A.D., 950 A. D. Chs. 44-45 inserted into the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa between 950 A.D.-1050 A. D.

Group II, Chs. 39-43, 47-83 added between 1250-1500 A.D.

137. Ibid., op. cit., p. 59.

Brahma, Varāha, Agni and Garuḍa must have been borrowed from the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa.[138] Like other sects, the sun-sect also must have developed a vast Saura-literature as is evident by notices of such works in the literature of India but unfortunately the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa is the only extant Saura work D. R. Bhandarkar[139] mentions a Sūrya Purāṇa as known to Śākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas known as Sevakas living round about Jodhpur but is quite ignorant of its contents and it is difficult to say whether it is the same as the Sāmba or not.[140] Bhavisya Purāṇa[141] mentions an ancient work dealing with the saura-dharma as declared by Nārada It has been quoted in many literary works of later times.[142] It was an early work dealing with the duties of the Sauras. It has been included into the class of upa-purāṇas and dated earlier than 800 A. D. It is lost. Most of the verses of Saura-dharma quoted in later literature relates to fasting on the ekādaśī tithi in the month of Māgha, one to the eatables in the Kāmya vrata and lastly a Sūrya-vrata to be performed every month from Mārgasīrsa by placing a golden image of the sun in a silver chariot [143] It also enjoins that three leaves of a Tulasī plant are to be eaten up by the observers of Kāmya vrata and Sūrya vrata every month. There was another saura literature in Saura-dharmottara quoted by many works.[144] It may be regarded as an upa-purāṇa and may be dated not later than 900 A. D.[145] Its verses are generally related to Ekādaśī upavāsa. There is a reference to a Sūrya-Purāṇa.[146] Weber

138. Ibid., pp. 83-88.

139. E.I., vol. IX, p. 279.

140. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purānas, vol. I, p. 100.

141. I-4-89. 'Saura dharmaś Ca Rājendra nāradokto mahīpate'.

142. Ānandabhaṭṭa, Vidhāna Pārijāta, II, p. 696. Gadādhara, Kālasāra, p. 129. Hemādri, Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi II-I, Gopala Bhaṭṭa, Haribhaktivilāsa, p. 773 etc.

143. Caṇḍeśvara-Tithi-niraṇaya, II-11, pp. 552-7 deals with Sūrya vrata of Sauradharma.

144 Jīmūtavāhana, Kālaviveka, pp. 432-33, 443, 444, 447. Gopāla, Bhaṭṭa Haribhaktivilāsa, p 776, 808 Raghunandana, Smṛti-tattva, II, p 50. Caṇḍeśvara, Tithinirṇaya, fols. 12a, 13a, 13b. Hamādri, Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi, III-ii, p 249.

145 Hazra, R.C., op cit, p. 349

146. Caṇḍeśvara in his tithinirṇaya, fol. 2a quotes the verse-'Saṁkrāntyām ravivāre Ca tathā'......which he assigns to Sūrya-Purāṇa.

describes a manuscript of the Kṛṣṇapañcamī-śrāddhavidhi which he claims to have belonged to the Sūrya Purāṇa.[147] In the Berlin manuscript[148] of the Bhaviṣyottara there is a chapter on putra-kāma-krsṇa pañcamī-vrata which in its colophon names Sūrya Purāṇa as its source. As these topics are not found in the Sāmba upa-purāṇa, the Sūrya Purāṇa appears to be a distinct work, an early work but as no manuscript has come to light it cannot be dated in our present state of knowledge. Thus the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa is the only source of information regarding the sectarian sun-worship as prevalent between the 6th century A D. and 1500 A. D The Bhāskara Purāṇa mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa[149] may be the same as the present Sāmba Upa-purāṇa [150]

The later Purāṇic records throw flood of light on the sun worship particularly on its sectarian side. All the features of a sectarian form of the sun-worship may be seen in the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Varāha Purāṇa, Skanda Purāṇa and other late Purāṇas. Firstly, the unquestionable supremacy of the sun-god is well-established in these Purāṇic records. At the very beginning of the Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa the sungod is described as the cause of creation, protection and destruction of the universe and is the soul of pitāmaha, Nārāyaṇa and Śaṁkara whose manifestations are the three Vedas and who pervades the universe in the form of Śakra, Vahni, Yama, Varuṇa. Samīraṇa (i. e. Vāyu), Dhanada and others who crowd the quarters. Here like other sects[151] the sun god has been regarded as identical with the universe and the ultimate reality The exclusiveness and supremacy of the sun god is further stressed in the praise of the sun by Vasiṣṭha Here the sun-god is regarded as the only visible and eternal deity who is highest among gods and is the only source

147. Weber, A., Verzeichnise der Sanskrit and Prakrit Handschriften der Konighichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, 1853, No. 1127, p. 325 Colophon reads 'iti sūrya-purāṇa Krisṇa-pancamī-śrādha-vidhiḥ Samāptaḥ'.

148. Ibid., No. 468, p. 135 (Colophon of Ch. 50).

149. Skanda-P., V-III.

150. Sāmba Upa-purāna, Ch. I, verse 13 calls itself as 'Bhāskarāya Purāṇam and contains in Chs. 10-11 the story of the birth of Aśvins mentioned by Bhāskara Purāṇa.

151. Bhandarkar, R.G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems, pp. 2-4.

of energy, who never moves from his fixed position, who manifests himself, at the time of destruction into whom the yogins and the sāmkhyavid-s enter after forsaking their bodies . who is the only god deserving devotion and worship [152]

Again the sectarianism is stressed in the description of the Sūrya-loka by Nārada.[153] The sun is attended by the gods, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Apsaras etc , by the three Vedas incarnate, by the sages reciting Vedic hymns of praise, by the three Samdhyās incarnate, Ādityas, Vasus, Maruts and Aśvins, by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Rudra and by many others This deity pervades the universe and is eulogised by Brahmā and other gods. It is to be noted that the sun god is described as being attended by the three prominent gods-Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā of Purāṇic religion and is thus placed above all. The sectarian nature of the sun worship is again brought forth when the sun's creation and various other kinds of creatures in the form and capacity of Brahmā is described [154] The supremacy of the son-god is expressed in explicit words when the evolution af the universe according to the principles of the Sāṅkhya system and the appearance of the supreme being (īśvaram Param) as a luminary (called Savitr) at the prayer of Brahmā, Viṣṇu,[155] Maheśvara and others is mentioned. The making of Indra, Varuṇa, Rudra etc. as attendants of the sun[156] is a proof of the supremacy of the sun. Rudra is said to have taken recourse to the sun and eulogised him[157] which shows, the supremacy of the sun-god over Rudra. That the sun-worship was of a sectarian form is also confirmed by the mention of the Sūrya-bhaktas[158] and their characteristics, special sun-worshipping priests known as the Magas and the Yājakas[159], Sūrya-siddhānta (also called Āditya-siddhānta as distinguished from Traividyā-Siddhānta[160]), existence of a sectarian Saura literature as discussed before, the reference to the flags of

152. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, II.
153. Ibid., 6.
154. Ibid., 4.
155. Ibid., 14.
156. Ibid., 16. 25-35 & 17.
157. Ibid., 16-1-24. See reference 120.
158. Ibid., 38.
159. Ibid., 27.
160. Ibid., 28,

Ravi,[161], the reference to fixed methods and procedures for worshipping this highest deity[162], sadācāra for the sun-worshippers,[163] the elaborate descriptions for making sun-images and temples[164] and his identification with all gods such as Mahādeva, Iśvara, Brahmā, Bhava, Prajāpati, Puruṣa, Svayambhū, Hiraṇyagarbha and Nārāyaṇa[655] and the praise of Sāmba upa-purāṇa by Sūta over the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The sectarian mantıa of the Sauras was "khakholkāya namaḥ".

Thus there cannot be any doubt to the fact that the later Purāṇas witnessed the growth of a full-fledged sun-sect with all the paraphernalia needed for the growth of a sect. No doubt in the epics there are references to the Sauras—the sectarian sun-worshippers and the early Purāṇic records might have contained solar sectarianism in a veiled form. It was mainly during the period of later Purāṇas that a full-fledged sect round the sun-god developed on a unprecedented scale most probably due to the influence of a new form of the sun-worship from Iran.

One of the most interesting features of the sun-worship in ancient India as evidenced by late Purāṇas had been the association of the foreign priest-hood with the cult of the 'Sauras[166]'. These foreign priests were known as 'Magas' in ancient India. There are numerous references in many late Purāṇas which go to prove the advent of the 'Magas' in India from 'Śākadvīpa' to accept the priest-hood of the sun-temples which they constructed for the first time in the history of India. There is a legend concerning the advent of the Magas and their association with the sun-worship in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.[167] Sāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, constructed a temple of the sun on the banks of Candrabhāgā (modern Chenab in the Punjab) and no Brāhmaṇa would accept the office of a regular priest of the temple. He,

161. Ibid., 33.
162. Ibid., 47-83.
163. Ibid., 44.
164. Ibid., 30-31.
165. Ibid., 7 verses 16-21.
166. Bhandarkar, R.G., Collected Works of R.G. Bhandarkar, vol, IV, p. 218. Barth, A., Religions of India, p. 257. Majumdar, R.C. (ed.) Age of Imperial Unity, p. 465. Jairazbhoy, R.A., Foreign Influence in India, p. 153
167. Bhaviṣya-P., Ch. 139.

therefore, asked Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena to help him. Gauramukha suggested him to get Magas who were special sun-worshippers from 'Śāka-dvīpa'. Regarding the origin of the Magas, he informed him that Nikṣubhā was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa named Sujihva with whom the sun fell in love The son of these two was called Zarasasta (Zarthrusta). From him sprang the Magas They wore girdle round their waist known as 'Avyanga' On this advice, Sāmba went on the back of Garuḍa—his father's vehicle—to Śākadvīpa and brought some Magas and installed them into the office of priesthood of the temple he had constructed. This legend is repeated in other Purāṇas such as Brahma[168] and Varāha[169] and Upa-purāṇas as Sāmba[170]. Besides these references in late Purāṇic records, Magas find mention in MBH[171], where four castes of Śāka-dvīpa are mentioned as Maga (or Manga), Masaka, Manasa and Mandoga. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa[172] had them as Marga (but Maga in some manuscripts), Magadha, Manasa and Mandaga. Varāhamihira[173] clearly instructs that the installation and consecration of the images and the temples of the sun should be caused to be made by the Magas Alberuni[174] the Arab traveller of the 11th century A. D. refers to the Magas in India. Thus the Magas have long been known in the literary history of India. There is an inscription at Govindpur in Gayā district dated Śaka year 1059 corresponding to 1137-38 A. D.[175] in the opening stanza of which the Magas who sprang from the sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Sāmba. It appears that the Magas are mentioned for the first time in Indian epigraphy in 861 A. D. when the text of the inscription is said to have been drawn up by the Maga Mitraravi.[176] The legend

168 Brahma-P , 20 71 also mentions the four castes of Śākadvīpa

169. Varāha-P , Ch. 177.

170. Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa, Ch 26 "Sāmbasya Ca Tadollāsam pratimā sthāpanam tathā
maganayanam atraiva maga-māhātmyameva ca"
Omitted in Ven. Press edition, found in J. Eggeling's India's Office Cat VI, p. 1317.

171. MBH., VI-11-36-38.

172. Viṣṇu-P., II-4-69-70.

173. Bṛihat-Saṁhitā (S Dwivedi's Ed) 60-19

174. Sachau (Tr), Alberuni, I , p 21

175. Bhandarkar, R G , Collected Works, p 219

176. Jairazbhoy, R.A , op cit , p. 153.

finds confirmation in various coins of Scythians and Kusāṇas[177] and various seals.[178] Their presence on Indian soil is again indicated by many Iranian iconographical features mentioned in the Bṛihat-Samhitā and other texts,[179] as well as the depiction of these features in Sūrya-icons of Kusāṇa period[180] and onwards. These features were 'avyanga', udīcyavesa and upānatpinaddha [181] Even today there are Brāhmaṇas of that name in Rajputana and some other states of Northern India.[182]

All these evidences conclusively prove that a certain class of priests devoted exclusively to the sun and fire-worship were brought into India from 'Śāka-dvīpa'. There are many problems[183] connected with the advent of the Magas in ancient India. Firstly, the identity of 'Magas' and the location of 'Śāka-dvīpa' may be discussed. It has been held by most of the scholars that the Magas of the Purāṇas were no other than the sun-worshipping Magi priests of Persia or Iran[184] and the idea of locating them on a continent called Śākadvīpa must have arisen from the fact that they were foreigners like the Śakas with whom the Indians had been familar since the second or third century B. C. There is no doubt that the Magi priests became closely and indistinguishably associated with Iran after Cyrus extended his empire to Medea and

177. Gardner, P., Coins of Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, pp. 131, 134, 141-43, 155; Smith, V.A., Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 70.

178. Banerjea, J.N., Development of Hindu Iconography.

179. Ibid , p. 437 ff.

180. Agarwala, V.S., Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Museum., J.U.P.H.S., 1949, vol. XXII, p. 167.

181 Rao, Gopinath T.A., Elements of Hindu Iconography, pp. 299-305, I.H.Q , 1952, vol XXVIII, p. 1ff.

182. Mitra, D., Foreign Elements in Indian Population, Cul. Her. of India, vol. II, pp 613-15. cf. Magavyakti of Kriṣnadīsa gives an account of them

183. Bhandarkar, R.G., op cit , p 219.

184 Bhandarkar, R.G., Collected works, p. 219. Jairazbhoy, R.A., op. cit., p. 153, Barth, A., op cit , p 257, Hopkins, op. cit., p. 544, Majumdar, R.C. (ed.) Age of Imperial Unity, p 465. Mitra, D., Foreign Elements in Indian Population, Cul. Her. of India, vol. II, pp. 613-15.

Lydia of which we find unimpeachable testimony in Persian texts[185] and Greek writers[186] but it may be pointed out that originally they were a priestly tribe—probably Non-Āryan in origin in Medea[187] a section of which worked their way in Zoroastrianism after founder's death probably in the fifth century B. C.[188] Though originally there were fundamental differences between their way of life and that of Persians,[189] there was ultimately a compromise and Mithraism was born not later than fourth century B. C.[190]. Before the Persian impact this cult was already influenced by the religions of Babylonia and Chaldea.[191] The chief features of the Magi-cult were their worship of the sun god and fire-god under the name of Mithra with eastward position, the use of 'baroma' and belief in a dualist view of the world e. g. division of the world between good and evil powers represented by light and darkness—Ahurmazdaḥ and Ahir-Man.[192] They were famous for magic and occult power. From the above review the natural inference appears to be that the Magas who later came to India were originally the magic-expert indigenous non-Āryan fire and sun-worshipping Medean priests whose faith was very much mixed up with the Chaldean and the Babylonian elements and by the time they came to India it must have been Iranianised. Regarding the location of the 'Śāka-dvīpa', no definite opinion can be expressed since there is no detailed reference to its situation in any of the Purāṇas or other sources. The possibility appears to be that it must have been situated in

185. Avesta refers to them once In Yasht there are signs of the presence of Magi cf. Frank Cumont-The 'Mysteries of Mithra', p. 9

186 Herodotus, II-67-79, Strabo, XV-I-68.

187. Moulton, The Treasure of Magi, p 9 Moulton regards them neither Āryan nor Non-Āryan but low graded indigenous tribes of Medea.

188. Ibid , p 9, 13. Xenophon, Cyropaedia, VIII-I-23

189. Herodotus was aware of these differences specially in matters connected with the disposal of the dead They exposed the dead body while Persians burnt it. cf. Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, p. 57.

190. Burns, E.M., Western Civilizations, p 70

191. Frank Cumont, op. cit , p 30 & 31 calls it 'a composite religion', Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, pp. 187, 191

192. Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, pp. 182-253

Iran[193] most probably in Eastern Iran since the Śaka-occupation of the western portion of Northern India where the temple of the sun at Multan is supposed to have been built by the Magas, was principally the work of the Śakas of 'Eastern Iran'.[194]

Another important aspect of the Maga-problem is the antiquity or date of the advent of the Magas in ancient India. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar gives the date of the third century A. D. for the introduction of this element from Persia. Mr. H. D. Bhattacharya gives the reign of Kaniska as the probable period for the introduction of the Magas from Persia. He, believing in Ist century A. D. theory of Kaniskas'[195] date regards Ist century A. D as the time of their advent in India. Weber[196] also came to the conclusion that this Mithraic element came from Persia at the time of the Indo-Scythian Kings. The basis for this theory lies in the fact that Kaniṣka struck his coins with the image of Mithra and the name of Miiro (Mihir) added.[197] It may be pointed out that the presence of coins of Ist century A. D. having Mithra figure and name reveals that the cult might have been introduced some time before it. Let us examine the available materials chronologically.

(1) The inscription at Govindpur (Gayā District) dated 1137-1138 A. D. refers to the Magas.

(2) Alberuni (11th century A. D.) refers to the presence of Magi-priests in India.

(3) An inscription dated in 861 A,D. knows about the Magas of India.

(4) Varāha-Purāṇa (800-1000 A. D.[199]) refers to them.

(5) Varāhmihira (6th A. D.) refers to the Magas.

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193 Barth, A , op cit , p 257-f 9

194. Sircar, D.C., Age of Imperial Unity, Ed. R C Majumdar, p. 121.

195 Bhandarkar, R.G., Collected Works, p. 220. He believed in 3rd century A.D , theory of Kaniṣka's date

196. It is a matter of controversy but the most probable date accepted by many scholars is 78 A.D.–cf Political History of Ancient India–Roychoudhury, H C.

197. Barth, A., op. cit., p. 258, f 9.

198. Stein, M.A., 'Zoroastrian deites on Indo-Scythic Coins' in Babylonian and Oriental Records, Aug., 1887, pp. 155-166.

199. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p, 104.

(6) Sāmba Upa-purāṇa (dated between 500-800 A. D.[200]) gives a full account of them.

(7) Bhavisya Purāṇa (500 A. D. and after[201]) was also familiar with them.

(8) Several Gupta and Kuṣāna sun-icons are depicted in Iranian fashion thereby showing the influence of Magas of Iran.[202]

(9) The seal No. 607 discovered by Spooner at Basarh[203] contains a fire altar with probably a solar disc. The legend is in Gupta character 'Bhagavat Ādityasya'. It may be suggested that the association of fire and sun may be due to the Magi-influence.[204] The seals from Bhīt, Sunet and Rājghat belonging to the Gupta period show Magi-influence

(10) The fire-altar occurs on much earlier coins—for instance on those of Wema Kadphises and others (1 century B.C.), on Panchāla-Bhānumitra[205] coins (200 B. C) the same device of fire on altar and sun on altar is found.

(11) On the Indo-Greek and the Kusāṇa coins there is representation of Helios and Mithra. The Indo-Greek invasion began as early as 3rd century B C.[206]

(12) In the Mahābhārata[207] (400 B. C.-400 A. D) there is reference to Magas of Śākadvīpa and there are many mitra-ending names[208] indicative of Magian-influence.

(13) On an Avanti coin[209] a human figure in association with a solar standard (3 B. C.-2 A. D.) is depicted which

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200. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol. I., p. 91.
201. Ibid., Purāṇic Records, p. 171.
202. Agarwala, V.S., Catalogue of Brahmanical Images in Mathura Museum, J.U.P.H.S., 1949, vol. XXII, p 167 ff.
203. A.S.I A.R 1913-14, pp 118-120, 140 pl. XLIX.
204 Banerjea, J N , op cit., p 199.
205. Smith, V.A., A Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. I, p 187, pl XXII-4.
206. Tarn, W.W., The Greeks in Bactria and India.
207. MBA-VI-11;36-38.
208. Sorensan, Index, p. 1.
209. Smith, V.A., Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, vol. I, p. 153 Serial No. 12, pl. XX, No. 2.

shows the sectarian form of the sun-worship in view of the fact that the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa[210] describes about a flag staff of Ravi in connection with a Maginised sun worship and the region of Avantī may have been under the influence of a Magian form of the sun-worship as is hinted by Varāhmihira,[211] the evidence of this coin may be taken for knowing the date for the advent of the Magas in India.

(14) Ptolemy[212] (2 century A D) vouches, for the existence of the 'Brahmanai Magoi' in the south.

In view of these continuous and overwhelming evidences ranging from 3rd century B C. to 12th century A.D. and beyond no one can deny the influence of Magi-priests of East Iran upon India. There are two possibilities regarding the period of the advent of Magas. First possibility is that of 6th-5th century B.C. when Darius and his successors came to India and made its western part as a satraphy of Iran[213]. It is well known that the Magi-cult of Iran was very much popular among the masses and specially among the military class[214], and it is no surprise if it could have poured into western part of India in the wake of Persian invasion. Spooner half a century ago suggested that this particular form of the fire-altar at Basarh in Indian archæology without attendant figure is not due to any modification of Sassanian coinage through Kusāṇa influence but rather due to the survival in India itself, of the older, more original Persian tradition in such matters which antedates the Sassanian themselves by many centuries[215]. Further, it has been argued that in absence of any

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210 Sāmba Upa-purāna, Ch 33
Srivastava, V.C., The religious study of a symbol on an Avanti coin. Proceedings of the seminar on local coin, Memoir No. 2., Deptt. of Indology, B.H.U. Varanasi, 1966.

211. Bṛhat-Jātaka, Ch. XXVIII-3. Varāhamihira himself was a Maga. cf. Mitra, Debala, Foreign Elements in Indian Population, Cul. Her. of India, vol. II, pp. 613-15.

212. Mcrindle, J. W. (Tr.), Ancient India as described by Ptolemy. p. 170.

213. Herodotus-III-94, Mookerjee, R.K., Age of Imperial Unity, ed. R.C. Majumdar, p. 71.

214. Frank Cumont–The Mysteries of Mithra, pp. 26 ff.

215. A.S.I.A.R., 1913-14, pp. 118-20, 140.

survival of old Persian tradition it is difficult to explain how Pusyamitra (185 B.C.) could have been influenced by the Persian example in adopting the name of Mitra[216]. It has been suggested that Pusyamitra may have been an Iranian, a worshipper of the sun-Mithra[217]. But as pointed out by a recent scholar[218] it is difficult to come to any absolute conclusion that Pusyamitra was an Iranian or that he was under the influence of Magians or Iranians. There are a few names in the Mahābhārata even which end in Mitra but since the date of the Mahābhārata itself is controversial and there are much interpolations and later additions no reliance can be placed on this name-basis in matter of Magi-advent in India but there are other grounds for holding that the Magas might have come to India in 6th century B. C. There are references found in Pāli texts such as Bambhajāla-sutta[219] that at a time of Buddha the magic priests (probably Magas) were held in disrepute. Against the theory of the survival of old Persian tradition it has been argued that there is little to support this claim in Pre-Buddhistic Brāhmaṇa literature[220] and Megasthenes is silent about Magi-priests in India.[221] In reply to these arguments it may be pointed out that this silence on the part of orthodox Brāhmaṇa literature[222] before the Purāṇas might have been due to their hostility and contempt to the peculiar ways and manners of the Magas. In Ārseya Upanisad[223] there is reference to a class of peoples-Puṇḍras, Suhmas, Udumbhas, Dardas and Barbaras who believed in the worship of the sun and were outcaste in the orthodox society. They were held in contempt by the Brahmanic Ṛṣis such as Gautama. Are we not to suppose that this group was composed of

216. Jairazbhoy, R.A., op. cit., p. 148.

217. Smith, V.A., The Oxford History of India (Ed. 1920) p. 118. Vasu, N.N., Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, pp. 56-57.

218. Jairazbhoy, R.A. op. cit.

219. Vasu, N.N., Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanj, p. 1.

220. Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 544.

221. See Majumdar, R.C., The Classical Accounts of India.

222. In Atharvaveda we find reference to Magadha. It is tempting to suggest that it was named after Magas but it is hypothetical with no positive data in its favour.

223. Ārṣeya-Upaniṣad, Quoted by Belvalkar, S.K. and Ranade, R.D., History of Indian Philosophy, vol. II, p. 298.

indigenous as well as foreign tribes as is clear from the word 'Barbaras'? If so, there is every reason to believe that the Magas-the foreign sun-worshippers might have been meant by the term 'Barbaras' who were against Vedas and Vedic culture.[224] They are mentioned in the Brahmanic literature only when they because of their immense popularity and also because of their adoption of Hindunised ways are accepted as Śāka-dvīpī Brāhmaṇas in the Hindu fold. Now as the matter stands it may be suggested that there is possibility of the advent of Magi-priests and along with them Iranian form of the sun-worship in the wake of Iranian invasion of 6th century B. C.[225] which was responsible for the occupation of the north-western part of India over two centuries upto 330 B. C. There might have been continuous pouring of Magi-priests from Iran into India under the presence of other foreign invasions in that region. This becomes very plausible in view of the close proximity of the two regions and of immense popularity of Mithra-cult of Magis among the military classes of Iran and neighbouring regions.[226] But the positive evidence of the fire-sun worshipping Magi priests of Iran starts coming from the Indo-Greek period (3rd century B. C.) and it continued with renewed vitality in the Indo-Parthain-Sassanian Kuṣāṇa period when all over the ancient world Mithraism was spreading with phenomenal success.[227] In its westward extension it became a formidable but unsuccessful rival to christianity in the Roman

224. Vasu, N.N., Archæological Survey of Mayurbhanj.

225. Sankalia, H.D. in Archæology of Gujarat, p. 212, supports this contention, 'An early form of the sun-cult of the type we find later in Kathiawar might have reached that region as early as the 5th cenctury B.C. through the Magas when North-western India formed a part of the empire of Darius'. It may be pointed out that as early Asokan time there is evidence of a Yavana Tushapa as the governor of Saurashtra which reveals that even in 3rd century B.C. foreign influence had been predominant in this region and it is more than probable that there had been foreigners in the Indian population of this region.

Srivastava, V.C., Antiquity of Magas in Ancient India, Paper read at 30th Indian History Congress, Bhagalpur, 1968, Chattopadhya, S., Achaemenids in India, p. 22-23, 48.

226. Frank, Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, p. 30 ff.

227. Frank, Cumont, op. cit., pp. 11-19, 33-34.

world under Constantine,[228] while in its eastward extension it crossed Asia Minor, Iran and come to India but only to be absorbed in the ever-expanding heart of liberal but vital India.

Another aspect of the Maga-problem is concerned with the question as to how far these magi-priests could influence the indigenous tradition of the sun-worship in Ancient India Certain Hindu names containing Mihira i e. Mithra, the Magas e. g Magi priests, and recommendations of the sun-worship in the Purāṇas are the grounds on which Weber propounds a theory of the great influence of Magi-priests and cults upon indigenous sun-worship He[229] claims in fact, that the native sun-worship was quite replaced by this importation. It is difficult to agree with him in view of the fact that there are many Purāṇas[230] which do not mention the role of Magian priests at all and continue the indigenous and national tradition of the sun-worship as found in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanisads, the Sūtras, and the Epics. Some of the Purāṇas such as the Kūrma limit themselves to a description of the function of the sun as the heavenly body in regulating time and seasons, in maintaining the planets in their position and fostering the life of plants and animals and make only a passing reference to the solar family. This description is in conformity with the Vedic account of the sun-god. In the Visṇu, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Matsya Purāṇas there is the sun-worship of the Vedic tradition.[231] It has rightly been pointed out[232] that the orthodox tradition developed on the lines of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa's[233] prescription of a golden disc to represent the solar orb and the Upanisadic[234] doctrine of the golden Purusa in the Sun and the philosophically inclined concerned less of the 'all-red' deity and more of Brahmaṇa as the ultimate being with which the sun was identified There is testimony of this tradition in the Kūrma Purāṇa and many other places[235] in the Visṇu, the Vāyu, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Matsya

228. Burns, E.M., Western Civilizations, p. 87.

229. Weber, A., Indische Studien, p. 104.

230. Bhattacharya, H.D., Classical Age (Ed.) R.C. Majumdar, p. 438.

231. Roy, S N., Early Purāṇic account of Sun and solar cult, pp. 41-45.

232. Bhattacharya, H.D., op. cit., p. 438.

233. S.B., VII-4.1.10.

234. B.A.U.-II-5-5.

235. See references 105, 111, 112 etc.

Purāṇas. Moreover, the name of the sect of which Magis became priests is named as 'Saura'—a Sanskritised form[236] which is sufficient to indicate that the Magian cult was thoroughly Indianised and only then it could become palatable to the Indians Further the whole of the theology[237] of this system is so much Indian—a reflex of the teachings of Vedas, Upaniṣads and Epics that the question of displacement does not arise

The influence of the Magi-cult upon indigenous solar cult has been generally overestimated. The fundamentals of the Magi-cult could not make slightest headway in India most probably due to exemplary assimilative and absorbing capacity of the Indian culture. Further it might not have been possible for Magi-priests to advance their cause because most of the features of the Magi-cult (especially its Iranianised form which reached India) were already present here. For instance, the worship of the sun under the name of Mithra had already been prevalent in the native tradition of India is revealed by the Ṛgveda[238], the Atharvaveda[239], the Upaniṣads[240] and the epics[241] The fire was also worshipped and was closely connected with the sun in India right from the Ṛgvedic times. The dualist view of the world i.e. division of the world into good and evil powers and consequently the struggle between them and ultimate victory of the good was also found in ancient Indian history[242]. The fight between Indra and Vṛtra which forms an important theme of the Vedic lore may be regarded as a fight between powers of light and darkness[243]. The whole epic story is taken by some scholars[244] as symbolising this struggle. In view of these similarities there was

236. Farquhar, J.N., An Outline of the religious Literature of India, p. 153.

237. Ibid., He compares it with Śaiva theology and considers it as a reflex of the Gītā.

238. R.V., III-59. cf. Macdonell, A.A , Vedic Mythology, p. 30.

239. A.V., XIII-3-13, IX-3-18; III-8-1, V-12-1.

240. Taittirīya-U., 1-1-1, 1-12-1.

241. Hopkins, E.W., Epic Mytholcgy, pp. 202-204.

242. Ibid., Maitreya is one of the names of Sūrya in the Mahābhārata, III-146 to 157.

243. Frazer, J.G., Worship of Nature, vol I, p. 596.

244. Lakṣmī Dhara, Woolner Comm. vol. pp. 311-326., Ludwig, quoted by Pusalker, A.D., Cul. Her., India, vol. II, p. 65.

hardly anything new for Magi priests to propogate in India. There is one significant difference between Indian Mitra and Magi-Mitra. Magi-Mitra is credited with the slaying of the bull but we do not find any reference to this legend in the Purāṇas or other literature. No representation of this episode is found in the Indian art[245] though it was frequently represented in the arts of Asia Minor and Rome.[246] There are many rites of initiation etc. in the Magi cult of Mithraism but they are not to be traced in the Purāṇas.[247] Thus it may be suggested that so far as the mythology, theology and philosophy of the sun-cult was concerned the Maga influence was negligible.

There are two connected spheres where they appear to have exerted powerful influence—iconography and temples. Though there might have been native tradition of image-making and temple-building for different sectarian[248] gods yet it appears that the images and temples of the sun-god were either not known or popular in India before the advent of the Magas as evidenced by the Purāṇas.[249] It might have been due to the fact that the solar deity itself was visible daily to every body and there was no need for its representation. Its orb was worshipped by the general masses.[250] For the philosophically inclined its artificial representation was meaningless since they found in its visible form a symbol of ultimate reality.[251] Even if the tradition of image making in case of Sūrya might have existed it must have been on a very

245. Banerjea, J.N., Development of Hindu Iconography, pp. 428-505.

246. Frank, Cumont, op. cit., Figs. 4-7, 25, 26, 35, 37.

247. Burns, E M., Western Civilizations, p. 71.

248. Pāṇini and Patañjali inform us about the images of Hindu sectarian gods. cf. Puri, B.N., India in the time of Patañjali, p. 182-83, Agarwala, V.S., India as known to Pāṇini. p. 358 ff.

249. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 29-2-6. It is interesting to note that here the Maga priests are not described as responsible for image-making but Viśvakarman–the native architect was responsible. A few images of purely native tradition such as of Bodha-gayā, Bhaj, Lala-bhagat etc. have to come to light. cf. Banerjea, J.N., op. cit., pp. 432-434.

250. R. V., I-175-4; V-29-10; S.B., VIII-4-1-10.; Banerjea, J.N., op. cit., pp. 137-40, 198-199.

251. B.A.K., II-I, Chāndogya U., 3-1-11.

small scale because as it is mentioned in the Purāṇas[252] that the masses worshipped the solar deity not in its anthropomorphic but symbolic form by disc, wheel, lotus and svastika etc. On the other hand, there are many elements in the solar iconography of the Kusāna, the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods which are unmistakably Persian[253]. These must have been brought by the Agni-priests in India. These are Udīcyaveṣa, avyanga and high boots. They are found referred to in the literary texts[254] of India as well as depicted in the solar images from the Kusāna period onwards found at Mathurā,[255] Bengal[256] and Western India.[257] That these features were imported from Persia becomes too evident when they are not found in the solar iconography of south India[258] which remained uninfluenced by the east Iranian tradition. The existence of a large number of the sun-temple in the western part of India[259] where Magas first established the sun-temple at Mūlasthāna (Modern Multan[260]) is again a pointer in the direction that actually Maga priests were responsible for starting this new tradition in the solar religion. Is is natural to presume that these two traditions established by them were materially instrumental in propagating and diffusing the sectarian form of the sun-worship. They gave concrete and lithic representation to the imaginary

252. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 29-2-6. Bhaviṣya Purāna (Brahma Parvan) refers to Maṇḍala form of the sun-worship. In commenting upon Āpastamba Dh. Sūtra, II-11-29-16 Haradatta says that the Draviḍas used to worship Āditya by drawing Maṇḍalas.

253. I. H. Q., vol. Myths explaining some alien traits of North India sun-icons, pp. 1ff., Banerjea, J. N., op. cit., p. 437.

254. Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, Ch. 57 (45-8), Viṣṇudharmotara, III, 67-1 to 5 also refers to these elements.

255. Agarwala, V. S., A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art, J. U. P. H. S., vol. XXII, 1949.

256. Saraswati, S. K., Early Sculpture of Bengal, p. 123. Bhattasali, N. K., Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sclptures in the Decca Museum, pp. 172ff.

257. Sankalia, H. D., Archaeology of Gujarat, pp. 84, 157, 158, 159 163.

258. Rao, Gopinath, T. A., op. cit., vol. I, part II, pp. 301-12. Sastri, H.K., South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses, Figs. 143, Dubreuill Iconography of Southern India, p. 109.

259. Sankalia, H.D., op. cit., pp. 59-60.

260. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 29-2-6. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Ch. 139 too narrates the incident.

depiction of solar anthropomorphism[261] as found in the Vedas, the epic and the Purāṇas.

There is another aspect of the Maga-problem e. g. absorption and acceptance of the Magas into the traditional Hindu fold.[262] The Indian culture has always been famous for its immense capacity of mutual adjustment and assimilation and ultimately absorption and annihilation into the ever-widening cultural patterns of India.[263] Many tribes, races and cultures were absorbed into the Indian culture The same fate awaited the Magas. They were ultimately accepted as 'Śākadvīpī-Brāhmanas' on account of their priestly functions by Indians. Already in 520 A D. a manuscript found in Nepal[264] gives an equal status to the Magas and Brāhmaṇas in the Kaliyuga. The very fact that they were mentioned in the Purāṇas in association with native myths and legends[265] is indicative of their acceptance by the Brāhmaṇs

Another aspect of the problem is concerned with the factors responsible for the wide popularity which they commanded for two or three centuries and which were ultimately responsible for increased vitality of the solar-cult in the early centuries of the Christian era. The proselytising spirit of the Magas [266], the state support that they enjoyed atleast under foreign rulers i. e. of Indo-Greeks, Scythians and Kuṣāṇas,[267] the propogating of the benefits of the

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261. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, p. 29.

262. Mitra, D., Foreign Elements in Indian Population, Cul. Her. of India, vol. II, p. 611.

263. Bhandarkar, D. R., Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, Indian Antiquary, 1911 Jan., p. 18.

264. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol. I, pp. 30-56.

265. Frank, Cumont, op. cit., pp. 30 ff.

266. Vasu, N.N., Castes and Sects of Bengal, IV, 56-57 suggests probable connection of the sun worship with Śuṅga, Kanva and Hūna dynasties.

267. Bloch, Z.D.M.G., 1910, p. 723 believes that the theory that sun god cures leprosy came from Persia. But as shown by the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda there was native tradition that the sun-god cures leprosy and other skin diseases. Sāmba Upa-purāna, Ch. 24, see Mayūra-śataka of Mayūra.

sun-worship, especially its creative properties.[268], their contribution towards image-making and temple-building of Sūrya whose absence must have keenly felt—all these factors must have contributed towards their temporary success but ultimately they lost their individuality since there was nothing distinctive about them.

It has been suggested that the sun-worshipping Magas were divided in course of time into two groups of the Magas and the Bhojakas later on degraded as the Yājakas. Both are distinguished in the sense that the Magas used to meditate on the syllable 'A', while the Yājakas worshipped the sun by burning incense, offering garlands and various other articles and muttering mantras though the aim of both is the same—the attainment of final emanicipation through Karmayoga to the sun who resides in the phenomenal sun and is both Sakala and niskala.[269] It appears that the Bhojakas or the Yājakas or the Sevakas may have been indigenous priests of the sun-cult on the ground that they are described as chanting Vedic mantras etc.[270] Later on they indulged into objectionable activities and practices and entered into matrimonial alliances with foreigners like the Magas. Then they came to be regarded as low or apānkta[271] or Devalaka-Brahmins[272] (temple priests). There is a reference to a tribe known as Bhojakas in the time of Aśoka[273]. It is difficult to suggest whether Bhojakas of Aśokan inscriptions and Bhojakas of the Purāṇas were identical. If they were identical, it is just probable that due to the extreme popularity of the Magas in northern India they might have migrated to south India but there is no evidence of migration of any such tribe. Whatever might be the truth they enjoyed respect upto the eighth century A. D.[274]

Though the sun-god had various names[275] such as Āditya, Savitṛ, Bhāskara, Arka, Ravi, Sūrya, Mihira, Prabhākara, Mārtaṇḍa, Bhānu, Citrabhānu and Divākara etc., he was specially

268. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol, I, p. 97.

269. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Ch. 27

270. Ibid.

271. Bhaviṣya-P., I-140, 141, 146.

272. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas, vol. I, p. 40.

273. Mookerji, R.K., Aśoka, p. 21.

274. Fleet, J.F., C.I.I. vol. III, p. 217.

275. Sāmba Upa-purāna, Ch. 9.

worshipped in his twelfth form (Dvādaśārka)[276] Mitra. The twelve Ādityas[277] are Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūsan, Tvastṛ, Aryamā, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Viṣṇu, Amśu, Varuṇa and Mitra.

The development of a family and attendants of a deity is a common features of Hindu sects and cult. The later Purāṇas elaborately describe this feature of the sunworship. Rajanī and Nikṣubhā are his two wives. Pingala[278] the recorder of good and bad deeds of creatures, Daṇḍanāyaka, Rajña and Stosa[279], Kalmaśa (i. e. Yama) and Pakṣin (i. e. Garuḍa) attend on him and also Vyoman and naked Diṇḍi[280]. Rajanī's another name was Samjñā or Sureṇu[281] and the sun had two sons with her—Vaivasvata Manu and Yama Śrāddhadeva and a daughter named Yamī or Kālindī The shadow of Samjñā was Chāyā (called to be the same as Niksubhā identified with Pṛthvī). From Chāyā the sun got Śrutaśravas and Śrutakarman and a daughter known as Tapatī. The other sons of the sun-god were two Aśvins named Nāsatya and Dasra (from Samjñā in Kuru country) and Revanta with the body of a horse having a bow and arrows. There is mention of eighteen attendants of the sun—Indra under the name

276 Sāmba Upa-p., I-8b-14. 3.3 'prītyā sāmbasya, tatrārko Jagato'nugrahāya ca / Sthito dvādasa-bhāgena mitro maitrena cakṣuṣā //
In Sāmba Upa-purāṇa 4. 6 Mitra is mentioned as the last of the 12 Ādityas.

277. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Ch. 6.

278. Bhaviṣya-P. I-76-13 read 'piṅgalo lekhati' in place of 'pingalo devakaḥ' of Sāmba Upa-purāṇa but the text of the Bhaviṣya-P. appears to be the correct one. In Visnudh III-67. 5-7 Piṅgala is described as antipiṅgala, Uddīptaveṣa (Udīcyaveṣa ?) Lekhani patrakāra and carma Śūladhara".

279. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 6. 22a & 7. 3a., Bhaviṣya-P., I-76-13b & 18 (corresponding to above) to names are Rāja and Srosa but in Bhaviṣya P. I-124-13 and 22-24a they are Rajnā and Srauṣa Ch. I-143. 40a. Sāmba Upa-purāna 3 6.39 gives the names as Rājan and Tośa. In Āvesta Rashnu (justice) and Sraosha (obedience) are companions of Mithra.

280. Sāmba Upa purāṇa, 6. 23. 7, 4 & 16. 25 but in Bhaviṣya P., I-76. 14 and 19 and I-124-1 the words tathā, agrataḥ and magnaḥ are found in place of nagnaḥ and nagnakaḥ.

281. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 10-17b, Bhaviṣya-P., I-79b; Skanda-P., VII-1-11-65b.

of Daṇḍanāyaka on the left side of the sun and was engaged by latter to rule over the world with his daṇḍa and nīti, Agni known as Piṅgala on the right side of the sun was engaged in checking the good and bad deeds of all creatures, two Aśvins stood on two sides of the sun, Kārttikeya and Hara stood at the eastern gate under the name of Rajnā and Stosa respectively, Yama and Garuḍa assumed the names of Kalmaśa and Pakṣin who stood with two asses at the gate and on the south stood Citragupta and Kāla under the names of Jandākāra and Māthara, on the west stood Varuṇa and Sagara under the names of Prapnuyana and Kṣutapa respectively, on the north stood Kubera and Vināyaka and on the east stood Revanta and Rudra[282] under the name of Diṇḍi[283] and also Śrī, Mahāśvetā and Mātṛs. Besides these chief eighteen attendants, at one place[284] Soma is included as an attendant deity of the sun and there were fourteen other attendants. In the list of attendants there are names which may be regarded as Iranian, importation[285] such as Rajna and Stosa,[286] Māṭhara and Janḍākāra,[287] though there is effort to Indianise them by giving them Indigenous origin as mentioned above.

The method of the sun worship is elaborately described in the late Purāṇas. Many influences may be seen in the evolution of the methodology of the sun worship in the late Purāṇas—such as the Vedic tradition of the sun-worship, the indigenous tradition of the sun-worship, the Iranian tradition of the sun-worship, the Tāntrik tradition of the worship and Śaiva tradition.

The first important feature in the worship of the sun was the introduction of image and temple of the sungod in contrast to the worship of sun in symbolic forms. This is expressly brought out

282. Ibid., 29-13b. Viṣṇudh-III-67-Daṇḍin (i. e. Daṇḍanāyaka)-Dharma in the form of lion and the banner (dhvaja) on the left of the sun, Piṅgala on the right, the sun's four sons (viz. Revanta, Yama and two Manus) as well as his four wives (viz. Rajanī, Nikṣubhā, Chāyā and Suvarcasā) on both sides are mentioned.

283. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 16. 1 24.

284. Ibid., 36-41b.

285. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol. I, p. 45.

286. Sāmba Upa-Purāna 16-8a, Bhaviṣya-P., I-124-21a.

287. Bhaviṣya-P., I-53-1 mentions Māṭhara but not Jandākāra.

in the later Purāṇas[288]. The rules for the construction of the sun temple and images are also given[289]. From the point of view of materials seven kinds of images and dresses etc such as avyanga, pada-bandha etc are mentioned[290]. It has rightly been suggested[291] that in the earlier chapters of the late Purāṇas the Vedic tradition has been given prominence though no doubt Iranian elements were already introduced in the sun-worship. There are references to six mediums of the sun-worship viz. fire, water, air, holy place, image and pedestal for the image of a deity[292]. There is no reference to Tāntric symbols like Yantra or Maṇḍala in these earlier chapters The hymns in praise of the sun are called Vedokta or Veda-Vedāṅga-sammita[293], the three Vedas are said to attend upon the sun[294] and the agnihotragṛha (the house for the oblations to the fire) is an integral part of the sun-temple[295]. The Vedic home forms an important part of the worship, the mantras to be used are either Vedic or Purāṇic or both[296].

But the Tāntric cult was becoming quite popular particularly in eastern India from 7th-8th centuries onwards[297] and the sun-worship could not remain aloof from this development. In the chapter of the second group of the Sāmba Upa-purāṇa there are many elements in the sun-worship which are essentially Tāntric.

288. Sāmba Upa-p., 29-2-6.
na purā pratimā hy āsīt pūjyate maṇḍale raviḥ/
yathaitan maṇḍalam vyomni sthīyate savitus tad ī//
evam eva purā bhaktaiḥ pūjyate maṇḍalākṛtiḥ/
yataḥ prabhṛti cāpy eṣa nirmito viśvakarmaṇā//
sarva-loka-hitārthāya sūryasya puruṣākṛtiḥ/
gṛheṣu pratimāyās tu na tāsām niyamaḥ kvacit//
devāyatana-vinyāse kāryam mūrtiparīkṣanam//
Ibid., 1-17a 'Sāmbasya ca tadollāsam prtimāsthāpanaṁ tathā'.

289. Ibid., Ch. 29.

290. Ibid., Ch. 30. 31.

291. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol. I, p 63.

292. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 38. 45.

293. Ibid., 12. 8, 12 13, 24. 7 etc.

294. Ibid., 6. 15.

295. Ibid., 29. 15.

276. Ibid., 30. 18, 32. 12 '......purāṇoktena mantreṇa'......

297. Chakravarti, C., The Tāntras, Studies on their Religion and Literature, pp. 80-89.

The method of initiation is full of Tāntric influence. It involves the selection and preparation of the ground, selection of spiritual preceptors and disciples, offer of argha to the sun with the mahāmantra, drawing of a maṇḍala with the figure of a twelve-petalled lotus in it performance of home and of tattvanyāsa and mantranyāsa, worship of the quarter guardians to whom fish, meat etc are offerred[298]. It is interesting to learn that the mantras with Tāntric symbolism are employed at every step. The drawing of maṇḍalas, the performance of various kinds of mudrās and nyāsas are in accordance with the Tāntric philosophy. The word 'Tantra' has been used to mean not only procedure but also Tāntric works[299]. The methods of performing abhicāra rites and bījas in mantras and practice of yoga have also been given and six acts viz. vaśīkaraṇa, ākarśaṇa, māraṇa, uccātana, vidveśaṇa and stambhana etc[300] Thus the sun-worship in the later Purāṇas appears to have been influenced by Tāntric symbolism. The sun-worship was done at sun-rise, at mid-day and at sunset[301]. The later Purāṇas also give an account of the method of performing the annual worship (samvatsarī pūjā) and the annual car-festival (rathayātrā) of the sun with the use of Vedic and Purāṇic mantras[302], and methods about the use of incense and other materials, methods and results of observing the seven different saptamī tithis as well as the twelve śukla-saptamīs'[303]. The legends of Jāmadgni and Viśvakarman[304] are given where an effort has been made to give a national version for covering the feet of the god sun. Other topics such as evolution of the universe according to the principles of Sāmkhya system[305] are described.

The later Purāṇas refer to three centres of the sun-worship[306] of Magian type. *Firstly,* it mentions Mūlasthāna also referred to

298. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Ch. 39 & 41.
299. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 41-1, 51-195, 55. 19, and 101, 57,15, 61-50, 68-9, 74-10=cf. Chakravarti, C., op. cit., pp. 19-20.
300. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Ch. I, 47-83. cf. Chakravarti, C., op. cit, pp. 38-44, 80-82.
301. Ibid., Ch. 29.
302. Ibid., Ch. 34.
303. Ibid., Ch. 46.
304. Ibid., Ch. 45 and Ch. 12-15 respectively.
305. Ibid., Ch. 14.
306. Skanda-Purāṇa, VI-76 refers to Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mūlasthāna, VII-139, 11 & 12a mentions that the sun is seen at

as *Mitravana* on the[307] Candrabhāgā river and identified with Multan in Punjab.[308] Besides Mitravana and Mūlasthāna there are other names of this place—Kaśyapa-pura, Hamsapur, Bhaga-pura, Sāmbapura (referred to by Abu-Rihan), Prahlādapur and Ādyasthana all terms connected with the sun-worship.[309] Hiuen-Tsang who visited the place in the seventh century A. D. testifies to the great popularity of this place as a centre of the sun-worship.[310] The other Muslim historians also give an account of this temple.[311] Cunningham takes Mūla as an epithet of the sun

Muṇḍīrasvāmin at Gangāsāgara sangama, at midday at Kālapriya and in evening at Mūlasthāna near candrabhāgā. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 26. 14 refers to Kālapriya, sutīra and Mitravana cf. 42. 43. 'Sthāpayitvā ravim bhaktyā tristhāneṣu surottamaḥ' cf. Sāmba-P., 43-36b., Bhaviṣya-Purāna, I-72-4-6 refers to Muṇḍīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana, I-129. 16b-17a, Sutīra, Kālapriya and Mitravana, I-189-23 26, Puṇḍīrsvāmin, Kālapriya and Mūlasthana, I-55-27, Suṇḍīrsvāmin, Kālapriya and Mitravana, Varāha-Purāna, 177-55-77 narrates that Sāmba established three images at Udayācala, Kālapriya on the south of yamunā and Mūlasthāna on the Astamānācala.

307. Sāmba Upa-purāna, 1-38.
308. Cunningham, A., The Ancient Geography of India, pp. 194-199. De, N.L., Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, pp. 133-34 etc. Sircar, D. C., Geography of Ancient & Mediaeval India.
309. Cunningham, A., op. cit., p. 196.
310. Beal, A., Buddhist records of Western Countries, vol. II, p. 274, 'There is a temple dedicated to the sun very magnificant and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its devine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to this deval). They have founded a house of mercy (happiness) in which they provide food and drink and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers. There are always some thousands doing so on the four sides of the temple. There are tanks with flowering groves which one can wander about without restraint'.
311. Alberuni, Al. Edrisi, Abu Ishak al Ishtakhri etc. Quoted by Elliot, H. M. and Dowson, J., History of India as told by its own historians, Vol.. & p. 18-73.

as the God of rays and therefore Mūlasthānapura as the 'City of the Temple of the Sun'.[312] But the interpretation is far-fetched and more probable view appears to be that it means the 'original place of the sun worship'.[313] The internal evidence is in favour of this interpretation. In the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa as well as in the Sāmba Purāṇa the place is also referred to as Ādyasthāna[314] which directly means 'original place' and there is no reason to take it as a corruption of Āditya.[315] Secondly, the legend of Sāmba expressly states that for the first time a sun temple was established here.[316] That western India where Multan is situated was a strong hold of the sun-worship, is also attested by epigraphy.[317]

The second place of the sun-worship is referred to as Kālapriya identified with modern Kālpī on the southern bank of Yamunā.[318] There is a controversy regarding the identification of Kālapriya temple of the sun at Kālpi with Kālapriyanātha at whose fairs all the three plays of Bhavabhūti were staged[319] but others identify Kālapriya with Mahākāla of Ujjayini.[320] It is reasonable to suspend judgment on this issue.

The third place is referred to as Sutīra, or Muṇḍīra or Udayācala also known as Sūrya-kānana, Ravikṣetra, Sūrya-ksetra and Mitravana[321] while the Brahma Purāṇa expressly calls it Koṇāditya or Konāraka in Utkala (or odradeśa).[322] It is

312. Cunningham, A., op. cit. p. 197.

313. Hazra, R. C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas. vol. I, p. 39.

314. Ibid., p. 105.

315. Cunningham, A., op. cit., p. 198.

316. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, Ch. 24-26.

317. Sankalia, H.D., Archaeology of Gujarat, pp. 60, 80, 137, 212. Fleet, J.F., C.I.I., vol. III, pp. 70, 80, 162, 218.

318. Mirashi, V.V., Three Ancient Famous Temples of the Sun. Purāna, vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 42.

319. Mirashi, V.V., Identification of Kālapriya, Studies in Indology, vol. I, p. 33. Altekar, A.S., Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 102, identifies Kālapriya with Kālpī.

320. Kane, P.V., (ed.) Uttararāmacarita (4th ed.) (Intro), Tripurāri, A commentator of Bhavabhūti's Mālatīmādhava identifies both. Bhandarkar, D.R., E.I., vol. VII, p. 30.

321. Sāmba Upa-purāṇa, 42-2.

322. Brahma-Purāṇa, 28-32., Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-purāṇas, vol. I, p. 106. Though 'Konāraka' does not occur in the Bhaviṣya Purāna, I-153-50, the sun is called 'Koṇa-Vallabha. In Kapil-

generally and rightly identified with modern Konārak near Puri in Orissa.[323] Dr. Kane objects to this identification and identifies Muṇḍīra with the sun temple at Modhera in north Gujarat but his objections are not forceful. It seems that the name Konarak came to be applied to this place because of its position in the north-east corner (Koṇa) with respect to Puri.[324] It is clear from the above description of the places of the sun-worship that the whole of northern India was witnessing the development of the Magian type of the sun-cult.

Thus the Purāṇas—early and late—contain valuable data for the study of the sun and solar cult from the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, to the end of the Hindu period of India. The early Purāṇic records continue the national tradition of simple, non-sectarian sun-worship by means of symbols though there are passages and occasions when solar sectarianism in a veiled form is seen. The old Vedic tradition of worshipping the sun under different names continued though Sūrya, Savitṛ and Āditya became very prominent names. The sun was worshipped mainly in his benevolent form. The early Purāṇas describe about the family of the sun-god and his chariot with elaborateness not seen before. There are indirect references to sun-images and temples, but the early Purāṇas do not mention the Magas—the foreign sun-worshipping priests. There is mention of the characteristics of the sun-images which are Indian as compared to the Iranian elements of the late Purāṇas. In various domestic rites the sun-worship played predominent part and twelve petalled lotus was particularly associated with the sun-god. The worship of the sun in the early Purāṇas mainly consisted of recitation of mantras, Vedic and Purāṇic in praise of the sun god under the names of Bhāskara, Ravi, Sūrya, Savitṛ, Bhaga and Arka etc ; argha consisting of water, sandal flowers, specially red, and salutation to

saṁhitā A.S.B. Ms. No. 311, Ch. 6, Konāraka has been called Maitreya-Jana and the Ravikṣetra.

323. Hazra, R.C., Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas, vol. I., p. 146. Mirashi, V.V., Three Ancient Famous Temples of the Sun', Purāṇa, vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 41.

324. Kane, P.V. (Ed.) Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti fourth ed., Intro. p. 13.

325. Ganguly, M.M., Orissa and her remains, p. 437.

the sun-god. There is no reference to the Tāntric mode of the sun-worship in the early Purāṇas.

The most interesting feature in the late Purāṇic records is mention of the advent of the Magas and the popularisation, if not introduction, of the sun images and temples at three places. The sun images were to be dressed according to the Iranian fashion though there is an effort in these Purāṇas to nationalise this foreign element. The advent of the Magas gave a philip to the cause of the sun-worshippers and it spread throughout northern India. Ultimately the national and Iranian traditions of the sun-worship were mixed up and the solar sectarians developed a philosophy which was similar to the Sāṅkhya system. In earlier chapters of the late Purāṇas the Vedas and the Purāṇas are given prominence in the worship while in the later chapters of the later Purāṇas Tāntric symbolism gains popularity.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE THIRD EYE OF ŚIVA IN THE PURĀṆAS.

BY

WENDY DONIGER O'FLAHERTY

[अस्मिन्निबन्धे विदुष्या लेखिकया शिवस्य तृतीयनयनस्य प्रतीकात्मिका व्याख्या प्रस्तुता । शिवस्य तृतीयं नयनं कुत्रचित्तु अग्निमयं योगशक्तिसमन्वितं वर्णितम् । कुत्रचित्तु शिवस्य पार्वत्या सह शृंङ्गारलीलायां शृङ्गारचेष्टामयं च वर्णितमुपलभ्यते । अन्यत्र तिलकमयं च वर्णितम् । अत्र शिवस्य तृतीयनयनसम्बन्धिनानाख्यानानामाधारेण प्रमाणपुरस्सरं तस्य योगैश्वर्यमयं शृङ्गारात्मकं च द्विविधं रूपं प्रदर्शितम् ।]

Symbolism is essential to all mythology, but particularly to the mythology of the Hindu god Śiva. For the corpus of myths, preserved in its most important form in the Sanskrit Purānas, embodies a basic paradox : that Śiva is the god of ascetics and the god of the *liṅga*.[1] The myths which explore this paradox do so by a combination of rational explanation and emotional perception ; but the symbols of Śiva express in a static form the resolution of the mythological paradoxes. Symbolism is uniquely capable of resolving such ambivalences, for the symbol may be two things at once, the actual object and the implicit quality. This facility is particularly applicable in the Purāṇas, since all of Sanskrit poetry is based upon the concept of *dhvani*—emotional overtones or echoes, secondary implications of words. Thus where the myth, which functions in terms of action, must describe first one and then another aspect of the god, resorting to cyclic activity, the symbol juxtaposes the aspects so closely as to superimpose them, forming the moment of complete resolution which the episodes of the myth approach but never reach.

1. This has been discussed at length by the present writer in two articles entitled, "Asceticism and Sexuality in the Mythology of Śiva," in *History of Religions* (University of Chicago : May, 1969, and August, 1969).

I. The antierotic connotation of the third eye.

Śiva is the god of yogis and the greatest of all yogis ; the third eye in the middle of his forehead is a symbol of his magic vision and an instrument of his ascetic power. With this eye he burns to ashes Kāma, the god of desire, when Kāma attempts to wound Śiva with one of his flower arrows. As R. C. Zæhner describes this episode, "With a glance of his third eye—the eye of contemplative wisdom situated above the bridge of the nose—he [Śiva] reduced the impudent godlet [Kāma] to ashes."[2] With this same divine eye, Śiva performed another antierotic act : at the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī, Brahmā, who was performing the ceremony in his capacity of Creator, became excited by the beauty of Pārvatī and shed his seed upon the ground. Brahmā created a screen of smoke to obscure his transgression, and Śiva's two eyes were blinded, but with his third eye he saw what had happened and punished Brahmā.[3] Thus in terms of traditional symbolism, as well as by its application in Hindu mythology, the third eye is ascetic and antierotic, in keeping with Śiva's role of the divine yogī.

This connotation of the third eye appears throughout the myths of Śiva and his wife Pārvatī. In one story, Pārvatī beats Śiva by cheating in a game of dice :

> When Pārvatī had won everything from Śiva, including his loincloth, Śiva looked at her in fury with his third eye, and the hosts were terrified and thought, "Now Śiva is angry with Pārvatī and will burn her as he burned Kāma. "But Pārvatī smiled and said to Śiva, "Why do you look at me with that eye ? I am not Death, nor Kāma, nor the sacrifice of Dakṣa, nor the Triple City, nor Andhaka [all enemies of Śiva who had been destroyed by the third eye]. What good will it do you to look at me with that thing ? You have become three-eyed in my presence in vain". Hearing this, Siva decided to go alone to a deserted forest.[4]

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2. Robert Charles Zaehner, *Hinduism* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 111.

3. *Śiva Purāṇa* (Benares : Paṇḍita Pustakālaya, 1964) 2. 2. 19. 17-30 ; *Skanda Purāṇa* (Bombay: Venkaṭeśvara Steam Press, 1867) 6. 77. 40.

4. *Skanda Purāṇa* 1. 1. 34. 130-139.

Even without these particular association, a third eye in the middle of the forehead produces a reaction of horror and aversion as a mere facial disfigurement, a physical monstrosity. This is brought out in the Purāṇa passages in which various people, trying to dissuade Pārvatī from her love of Śivā, contrast his three eyes with her lotus-petal eyes,[5] his deformed eyes with her wide eyes,[6] his monkey-eyes with her fawn-eyes[7]. A Bengali poem is based upon this contrast together with a related reversal : the idea that Kāma burns Śiva instead of being burnt by him:

> Why do you burn my body, Madana [Kāma] ?
> I am not Śaṅkara [Śiva], but a delicate girl.
> A pearl tiara this and not the crescent moon [which Śiva bears] ;
> Not an eye on my forehead but a vermillion spot... ..[8]

The inappropriateness of the third eye in an erotic context is expressed in a verse describing Śiva as he wanders about begging, naked, enticing the wives of the sages living in a Pine Forest : "As the third eye saw the body of Śiva which, though the body of the enemy of Kāma, was arousing passion throughout the three worlds, the eye was ashamed of its former deed [the burning of Kāma], and it hid."[9]

II. The interaction of the Horrible and the Erotic.

Thus, on its explicit level, the third eye is horrible and therefore anti-erotic. Yet the two aspects are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Although, in traditional Indian literary analysis, the loathesome, furious, heroic and frightening moods are opposed to the erotic,[10] the *Mālatī Mādhava* is a notable exception to this rule, "a play that combines love and horror with a felicity

5. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2 3. 27. 25.
6. *Skanda Purāṇa* 1. 1. 22. 66.
7. *Skanda Purāṇa* 1. 2. 25. 67.
8. Mathur, *Vaiṣnava Padalaharī*, edited by Durgadās Lahiri (Calcutta · 1905), p. 85. Translation by Edward C. Dimock, Jr. (unpublished).
9. Kṣemendra, *Darpadalana* (Bombay : Kāvyamālā Series 6 [pp. 66-117], (1890) 7. 35.
10. *cf.* Viśvanātha Kavirāja, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, ed. by J. Vidyāsggara (Calcutta . 1895).

never again equaled in Sanskrit."[11] The presence of horror to enhance love may be seen in Indian miniature painting in the motif of the *abhisārikā*, the woman who steals out to meet her lover at night in spite of the dangers of darkness, lightning, snakes ghosts, and jungle plants that tear her sārī and pluck off her golden ornaments.

The worship of the Goddess in India is particularly characterized by the combination of these elements, and there is even explicit reference to this phenomenon in the Purāṇas : in describing the glory of the Goddess in full armor, the messenger of the demon Mahiṣa says, "All the *rasa*-s [moods]—erotic and terrible, heroic and marvellous and comic—are combined in her."[12] Zaehner captures the logic of this juxtaposition when he writes, "[Kālī] is terrifying in her beauty. and her loveliness lies precisely in her frightfulness."[13]

The interaction of these *rasa*-s is still more significant in the character of Śiva himself, though its presence in the Goddess makes all the more comprehensible her ultimate approval of it in him. "Rudra [Śiva] inspires terror and most paradoxically, a fascinated tenderness for the terrible," writes Zaehner.[14] This emotion often takes the form of something approaching necrophilia, as in the episode in which Śiva embraces the corpse of his dead wife, Satī,[15] but throughout the mythology the "fascinated tenderness" turns upon the ambiguity of the symbols themselves rather than upon a seemingly perverse reversal of an unambiguous symbol (such as a corpse). The third eye, in spite of its superficial connotations, is in fact just such an ambiguous symbol.

III. The Erotic function of the third eye.

The third eye is capable of inspiring love as well as fear or revulsion in Pārvatī precisely because, in the context of the Hindu

11. Daniel H. H. Ingalls, *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry* (Cambridge, Massachusetts. Harvard Oriental Series, 44, 1965), p. 75.cf. Bhavabhūti, *Mālatīmādhava*, ed. by Mangesh Rāmakrishna Telang, 6th edition (Bombay : 1936).
12. *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa* (Benares : Paṇḍita Pustakālaya, 1960) 5.9. 54.
13. Zaehner, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
14. Zaehner, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
15. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, ed. by Hariprasad Śāstri, 4 vols. (Poona : Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 102, 1935) 4. 46. 27-40,

attitude toward sexual love, the two emotions are entirely compatible and are in fact characteristic of Pārvatī's feelings toward Śiva from the very first Pārvatī fears and loves Śiva simultaneously ; a Sanskrit poet notes that Śiva, who shares half of his body with Pārvatī in his androgynous form, is never left by her, "for though she draws away in fear, she is bound to the dexter part, which ever draws her back "[16] The poet Kālidāsa writes that the combination of love and fear in Pārvatī on the wedding night aroused Śiva's desire,[17] and in the *Śiva-Purāna* it is said that Śiva teased his wife by disappearing and then suddenly embracing her, frightening her.[18]

In many of these episodes of love and fear, the third eye plays an important dual function. This is clearly illustrated by a poem in which desire masquerades as fear (reference is made to the snakes which adorn Śiva and the river Ganges which flows through his hair, as well as to the third eye) :

> "Whence comes this perspiration, love ?"
> "From the fire of your eye "
> "Then why this trembling, fair-faced one ?'
> "I fear the serpent prince."
> "But still, the thrill that rise on your flesh ?"
> "Is from the Ganges' spray, my lord."
> May Gaurī's [Pārvatī's] hiding thus her heart
> for long be your protection.[19]

A similar juxtaposition is at the heart of a Tamil song in praise of Śiva ; in it, "the mother is apparently perturbed that the daughter has lost her heart to a weird character like Siva ; yet her catalogue of his qualities bring [*sic*] out his unique greatness"

> What mad you fall in love with him [Śiva] ? .
> Was it for .. the moon in his locks and the blazing eye in his forehead ?
> Or for killing Kāma (god of love), or for swallowing poison ?

16. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, ed. by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale (Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard Oriental Series, 42, 1957), 56 , translated by Ingalls, *op. cit.*
17. Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava* (Bombay . Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, 1955) 8. 1.
18. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2. 2. 21. 19.
19. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 75, translated by Ingalls, *op. cit.*

... Or the deeds he wrought or his lovesports ?
What made you fall in love ?[20]

As the poem implies, Pārvatī loves Śiva not in spite of his ascetic accoutrements and the ascetic eye in his forehead, but because of these qualities ; she loves him because they make him unique among the gods, and because in his ascetic powers there is implicit great erotic power.

In Kālidāsa's description of the wedding night of Śiva and Pārvatī, the third eye is put to striking erotic uses, arousing in Pārvatī the very desire that it had formerly destroyed incarnate :

When her silken gowns were drawn away for love-making,
Pārvatī covered with her hands
the eyes of the trident-wielding god ,
but, to her dismay, her efforts were in vain,
for Śiva gazed at her
with the eye in his forehead ...
When Śiva's forehead eye was blinded
by the perfumed powder from her hair loosened by kisses,
he would place it in
the lotus-fragrant breezes from her mouth.[21]

IV. The Erotic Origin of the third eye.

The erotic uses of the third eye are supported by its various erotic origins as described in several myths. The Vedic god Indra, from whom Śiva derives many of his myths and symbols, sprouted a thousand eyes in order to see more of Tilottamā, the beautiful *apsaras*, or celestial nymph; and at the same time, Śiva became four-faced in order to see her,[22] just as he becomes three-eyed to see Pārvatī on the wedding night In addition to this explicit connection, Śiva's third eye is assimilated to the thousand eyes of

20. This song appears in the program of a performance by Balasarasvati at the New Empire Theatre in Calcutta, on February 5, 1964 ; the Tamil text is included in the program, and is probably from the 19th century, but I have not yet been able to trace it.

21. *Kumārasambhava* 8. 7 and 8. 19.

22. *Mahābhārata,* critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, *et. al.,* (Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933-), I. 203. 21-26 ; XIII. 128. 1-5.

Indra by the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* reference to Indra's third eye[23] and by the Brāhmaṇa verse which describes Rudra (Śiva) as having a thousand eyes.[24] One version of the Tilottamā story omits Indra but is still more closely related to the origin of Śiva's third eye:

> Brahmā created Tilottamā, an *apsaras* so beautiful that she aroused even Brahmā himself. He sent her to Mount Kailāsa to bow to Śiva. Śiva saw her but did not dare to look carefully at her, for Pārvatī was there by his side and he was afraid of her. As Tilottamā walked around Śiva, in obeisance, Śiva made a head facing in each direction. Then the sage Nārada said to Pārvatī, "Look what a despicable thing your husband has done. You will be laughed at by all the wives of the gods when they know that Śiva is attracted to another woman." Then Pārvatī was angry and covered up Śiva's eyes. Darkness came over the world, and the mountains were shattered, and the oceans left their beds; it was like doomsday. Nārada was afraid, and he said, "Release Śiva's eyes now or everything will be destroyed." Yet Pārvatī did not uncover the eyes, and so, out of pity for the world and in order to protect it, Śiva made an eye in his forehead.[25]

This myth combines two versions of the origin of the eye: one from the desire to see Tilottamā and one from the touch of Pārvatī's hands. That the latter is also a direct cause of the creation of the eye—and that it is an erotic cause—is made clear by yet another myth:

> Formerly on Mount Madana, in playful jest, Pārvatī covered Śiva's (two) eyes with her lovely hands. When his (three) eyes were covered, great darkness arose [commentator: because Śiva's three eyes are the moon, sun, and fire], and from the touch of her hand Śiva's water of passion [*madām-*

23. Varāha Mihira, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* [*Bṛhat Sanhitā*[, ed. by H. Kern (Calcutta . Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, 1865) 58. 42.

24. *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* [*Śānkhāyana Brāhmaṇa*], ed. by Gulabrāya Vajaśaṅkara Chaya (Poona . Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series 64, 1911), 6.1 ; *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* of the Black Yajur Veda, ed. by E. Roer and E. B. Cowell (Calcutta ; Bibliotheca Indica, 1860). 4.5.5.5.

25. *Skanda Purāṇa* 6. 153. 2-27.

bhaḥ; commentator: sweat] was shed A drop of it fell into the fire [commentator: of Śiva's third eye] on the forehead, and it became heated. From it an embryo appeared, laughing and dancing. Siva asked Pārvatī to release his (three) eyes; she released his (two) eyes and the light shone forth again. But the child was blind, because of the darkness in which he had been conceived, and so he was called Andhaka, the blind one.[26]

The myth is imperfectly adapted from an earlier version in the *Mahābhārata*,[27] and it retains certain inconsistencies. Pārvatī covers only two eyes, as in the first version, but where the latter describes Siva's creation of a third eye of fire to dispel the darkness, the *Purāṇa* omits to do so and yet refers to the third eye, by which it explains the birth of the child. This confusion is heightened by the natural tendency to refer to eyes in the dual, in spite of the fact that Śiva must be three-eyed by the end of the myth. The confusion extends to the blindness of Andhaka, who, in some versions, is said to be "blind" because of his own lust, rather than because of the lust associated with his birth.[28]

V. The Wedding Transformation of the third eye.

Many of the myths of the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī ignore these secondary connotations of the third eye and begin from the superficial premise of its anti-eroticism. In these myths, Śiva wishes to change from his ascetic to his erotic aspect in order to marry, and so he changes his ornaments into the conventional ones with which they are usually compared. Thus all the serpents that adorn his body become gold bracelets; his matted locks become an elaborate coiffure; his tiger skin becomes an embroidered silk garment, and the funeral ashes on his body turn into perfumed sandal wood paste; by Śiva's wish, all his ascetic adornments become conventional ornaments (*yathāyogyam*).[29] And, in

26. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.5.42. 15-22; *Śiva Purāṇa*, ed. by Rājarāma Gaṇeśa Boḍasa, with commentaries (Bomcay: Ganpat Krishnaji Press, 1884 [cited by Saṇhitā name]), Dharmasaṃhitā 4. 4-10.

27. *Mahābhārata* XIII. 127. 26-38.

28. *Skanda Purāṇa* 7.2.9.151-163.

29. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.2.18.23; Śiva Purāṇa, Jñānasaṃhitā, 16.4.

particular, he becomes two-eyed, or the third eye in his forehead becomes a fabulous gem or a *tilaka* (an auspicious mark painted in vermillion on the forehead)[30]

This process is a transformation, not a replacement; when the Mothers laid out ornaments suitable for marriage Śiva rejected them, and his own apparel underwent a change, becoming suitable for a bridegroom:

> The eye that blazed in the middle of his forehead,
> its pupil red and yellow from the fire within,
> performed the office of a *tilaka*
> made of golden pigment.[31]

Śiva transforms himself in this way not for the sake of his bride, who would accept him anyway, but for the representative of the conventional world. his mother-in-law, Menā. First, in order to destroy her bride, he reveals himself in his three-eyed form: then, when she is suitably humbled, he reappears in glorious but conventional form, and Menā rejoices to see him[32] Brahmā states the reason for this transformation when he approaches Śiva before the wedding and says:

> "Siva, this is your highest form, beloved of yogins, your form that is streaked with ashes, four-armed. You should reabsorb this form and assume a lovelier, gentler one, so that your father and mother-in-law will rejoice to see how handsome you are, and so that no woman will be frightened of you." Then Śiva assumed an anthropomorphic form, with two arms.[33]

Similarly, the Mothers at the wedding urge him to behave like a handsome young lover in order to please Menā.[34]

Often, Śiva appears with both traditional and ascetic garments in order to please the different levels of his worshipers. When he comes to visit Himālaya, the father of Pārvatī, he appears

30. *Kālikā Purāṇa* (Bombay Venkaṭeśvara Steam Press, 1891) 46. 44-48, *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.3.39.38.

31. *Kumārasambhava* 7.33; cf. *Śiva Purāṇa*, Jñānasaṃhitā, 16. 5.

32. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.3. 43-46; *Śiva Purāṇa*, Jñānasaṃhitā, 18. 17-31.

33. *Mahābhāgavata Purāṇa* (Bombay: Gujurati Printing Press, 1913), 27. 19-27.

34. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.3. 50.35.

with three eyes ; but when Menā enters, he appears to her with a pair of lotus eyes.[35] In another text, Brahmā again convinces Śiva to change his form for the sake of the Goddess, and he changes him into a second Kāma .

> When Brahmā saw the beauty of the Goddess he thought: "A woman should not reign alone. Only Śiva can be her husband, but he has three eyes. She who is so auspicious must somehow choose him even though he is inauspicious." Then Śiva appeared before Brahmā with a divine body and divine garments, with beauty great enough to enchant the universe. Brahmā thought him a suitable husband for the Goddess ; she saw Śiva and thought him to be Kāma incarnate, and she was overcome with desire for him.[36]

Yet, from the more devout viewpoint, ornaments of Śiva are considered superior rather than inferior to the conventional ones. Although Śiva must actually transform his horrible adornments into their beautiful counterparts before the ordinary worshipper will accept him.[37] Pārvatī rejoices even at the first frightening description of him,[38] for she sees him in his true form from the beginning. The Hindu view of eroticism and the ascetic tradition which Pārvatī herself embraces—for she lays aside her own royal jewels and wears the bark garments of the female ascetic in order to win the love of Śiva—combine to depict the ascetic costume as more erotic than the conventional one. She accepts the third eye of Śiva not because it is like a *tilaka* or a fabulous gem in a diadem, but because a god who has an eye in his forehead is far more wonderful than one who wears ordinary jewels, and in her eyes the eventual transformation is no more than a revelation of what she had seen all along.

VI. The third eye—untransformed.

In this way, several of the Purāṇas describe the "transformation" from her point of view; the objects are not changed into

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35. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* 4.38.57 ; 4.39.12.

36. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Bombay : Venkaṭeśvara Steam Press, 1857), 4.14. 15-29.

37. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.3.45. 3-7.

38. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.3.8.13.

their conventional counterparts, but are rather considered to substitute for them as they are:

> The Seven Mothers came to adorn Śiva in the conventional way (*yathāyogyam*) But how can anything be done for one who is perfect? Śiva's own natural garb [*svābhāviko veśo*] became a kind of adornment. The third eye was a lovely *tilaka*. By Śiva's power, all his natural [*prākṛta*] qualities were transformed. It is difficult to describe the beauty of such a form.[39]

The commentator on these verses (like the author of a second version[40]) sees—wrongly, I think—an actual and therefore far less marvellous transformation: "The third eye became a *tilaka*." He reads "conventional" (*laukikam*) for "natural," and interprets the transformation as one from the common to the royal rather than from the royal to the magical, as the primary Purāṇa version itself describes it. Other texts substantiate the point of view that the ornaments remain unchanged: Śiva appears three-eyed, lovely in all his limbs;[41] at the wedding, the sun, moon, and fire shine forth from his three eyes.[42] Here, as in Kālidāsa's description, Śiva rejects the conventional ornaments offered to him and adorns himself only with his ascetic qualities.

For Pārvatī, who loves him as he is, this is entirely sufficient. Similarly, the manner in which true love or insight "transforms" the horrible ornaments even while they remain unchanged is illustrated by two verses which describe the baby Skanda playing with his father, Śiva. Here the strangeness and terror of Śiva lend a striking contrast to the air of tenderness, playfulness, and humor which, though bordering on the grotesque in Western eyes, do not jar the Indian sense of affection or devotion:

> May Guha [Skanda] save you from misfortune,
> who rolls at will upon his father's chest
> until his limbs are whitened from the funeral ash;
> who from the headdress then dives deep into the Ganges

39. *Śiva Purāṇa* Jñānasaṃhitā, 16. 3-8.
40. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.3.39.36-42.
41. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.2.17.4.
42. *Padma Purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 131, 1893) 5.40.435, *Matsya Purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series 54, 1907) 154.441.

at the coldness of whose stream he cries aloud,
till trembling and with chattering teeth
he holds his hands before the blazing eye[43]
. .. Thinking the forehead eye a lotus flower,
he tries to pry it open
May Skanda thus intent on play
within his father's arms protect you.[44]

The eye itself is ambiguous; the *Śiva Purāṇa* describes how, after burning Kāma to ashes with his fiery glance, Śiva then revived him by gazing upon him with his Soma glance, the glance made of the elixir of immortality.[45] These and many other overtones of the third eye all play a part in the mythology of Śiva. The interrelationship of these aspects is beautifully expressed by a verse in the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

May the three eyes of Śiva protect you
when at the time of his meditation they are divided into three moods:
one is closed in yogic meditation;
the second, however, lusts greatly
while looking at the hips and breasts of Pārvatī;
and the third blazes with the fire of anger against Kāma,
who has thrown his bow far away[46]

Summary

The third eye of Śiva is the emblem of his ascetic power; flames issue forth from it to destroy Kāma, the god of desire. Yet throughout the mythology of the purāṇas this eye appears in erotic contexts, serves erotic purposes, and has various erotic origins. At the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī it is described by certain texts as having been transformed into a *tilaka*; other versions of this myth state rather that, unchanged, it served as a *tilaka*. In this way, various connotations—some of them apparently contradictory—are seen to be symbolized by the third eye.

43. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 91, translated by Ingalls, *op. cit.*
44. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* 92, translated by Ingalls, *op. cit.*
45. *Śiva Purāṇa* 2.3.51.14.
46. *Skanda Purāṇa* 5.3.150.18.

A PAURĀṆIC ICONOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE IMAGE OF SARASVATĪ

BY

MOHD. ISRAIL KHAN

[लेखेऽस्मिन् सरस्वत्या वैदिकदेवतायाः प्रतिमानिर्माणविधि-सिद्धान्तप्रक्रियासम्बन्धे यत् पौराणिकं वर्णनमुपलभ्यते तस्य सयुक्तिकं विवेचनं कृतं वर्तते । ऋक्संहितायां नदी, ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु वाक्, पुराणेषु पूर्णव्यक्तित्वयुता देवी, इत्थं सरस्वतीपदमनेकार्थपरम् । पुराणेष्वेव तत्प्रतिमायाः स्वरूपप्रकारादीनां च विशिष्टवर्णनमुपलभ्यते । यथा अग्नि-पुराणे (अ. ४९-५५), मत्स्यपुराणे (अ. २५८-६४), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-पुराणे च (ख. ३ अ. ४४) देवानां प्रतिमायाः निरूपणं कृतमस्ति । मत्स्यपुराणे (२६०–४४) ब्रह्मणः प्रतिमायाः पार्श्वे सरस्वतीसावित्री-प्रतिमयोरेवंविधो निर्माणप्रकारः प्रदर्शितः—'आज्यस्थालीं न्यसेत्पार्श्वे वेदांश्च चतुरः पुनः । वामपार्श्वेऽस्य सावित्रीं दक्षिणे च सरस्वतीम् ।" इत्यादि । पुराणगतनियमानामंशतः पालनं शिल्पकलाशास्त्रे परिलक्ष्यते इत्यादि सोदाहरणमत्र निर्दिष्टं वर्तते । प्रतिमानिर्मितिविचाराणां तेषां प्रयोगश्चातिप्राचीन इति पुराणतः परिज्ञातं भवति । एतच्चाम्बुवीचिनृपेण निर्मापितमृत्प्रतिमया प्रमाणितं भवति, वामनपुराणमपि (Cr. Edn. स. मा. १९.४) प्रमाणभूतमत्र । एवं पुराणकाले देवी-देवानां प्रतिमा-संबन्धे शिल्पशास्त्रीयाः विचाराः 'दशताल' प्रक्रिया प्रभृतयः सन्ति हि श्रेष्ठतमा सारगर्भिताश्च । यथा (मानसार ५४.१०) 'सरस्वतीं च सावित्रीं च दशतालेन कारयेदि' ति महत्त्वपूर्णो विचारः प्रयोगश्च प्रचर-ति स्म । सरस्वत्याः स्वरूपतत्प्रतीकात्मकताऽपि लेखकेन प्रदर्शिताऽस्ति । अस्या आपोमयत्व-'वीणापुस्तकधारिणी'-'वाग्वैसरस्वती-पञ्च कृतिषु गणना इत्यादीनां गूढविचाराणां सोद्देश्यता सार्थकता वा यथावत् व्यंजिता यत्तु प्राचीनपरम्पराऽनुगुणमेव । तत्तद्विषयाणां वर्णनवैविध्यम्, जैन-बौद्धवर्णनैश्च तेषां सादृश्यं प्रदर्श्य लेखकेनात्र शास्त्रीयं मतमेव प्रतिपादितम् ।]

In the *Ṛgveda*, there are many references which beyond doubt of shadow, prove Sarasvatī to be a river[1]. In the Brāhmaṇas,

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1. Cf. *RV*. I. 3.12, II. 41.16, III. 23.4; V. 42.12, 43.11; VI. 52.6, VII. 36.6, 96. 1-2; VIII. 21. 17-18, 54.4; X. 17.7, 64.9, 75.5 etc.

we find her identified with speech completely 'vāg vai sarasvatī'[1] But a landmark in development has been paved towards the iconographical character of the goddess in her entering the Purāṇic era. It is the Purāṇas which at first have anthropomorphised her to the fullest extent and offer to us several iconographical references to her. In the following, it is observed in detail.

1. The prescription for the Image of Sarasvatī :

Among the Purāṇas the *Agni*, *Matsya* and *Viṣṇudhormottara* in particular deal with this prominently. The *Agni Purāṇa* spares its chapters 49-55 on laying down the prescriptions for the images of the various gods and goddesses. In its chapter 49 while describing the image of Brahmā, it lays down that the image of Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī should be respectively at the left and right sides of the Brahmā's image 'ājyasthālī Sarasvatī Sāvitrī vāma-dakṣiṇe.[2]'

Like the *Agni-Purāṇa*, the *Matsya-Purāṇa* maintains the same formula ; and for it, it devotes chapters 258-64. Like the *Agni-Purāṇa*, it prescribes how the image of Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī should be made with Brahmā. It goes on saying that Brahmāṇī (Sarasvatī as either wife or daughter of Brahmā) should be made like Brahmā in all respects to his recognition of iconic features-'brahmāṇī brahmasadṛśī.[3]' As to the image of Brahmā, it says that it should be made of four heads and there should a water-vessel (kamaṇḍalu) in one of his hands. He should be made riding a swan or seated on a lotus.[4] The image should have a site for oblations of ghee. It should have the four Vedas to its right. To

1. Cf. *Śat. Br.* II. 5.4.6; III. 1.4.9, 14, 9.1.7, 9; IV. 2.5.14, 6.33; V. 2.2. 13, 14, 3.4.3, 5.4.16; VII. 5.1.31; IX. 3.4.17; XIII. 1.8.5; XIV. 2.1.12.
   Taitt. Br. I. 3.4.5, 8.5.6; III. 8.11.2.
   Ait Br. II. 24, 3.1-2, 37, 6.7.
   Tāṇḍa Br. XVI.5.16.
   Gop Br. II. 1.20
   Śān. Br. V. 2, XII. 8; XIV 4.
2. *AP*. 49.15.
3. *MP*. 261 24.
4. *MP*. 260.40.

its left there should be the image of Sāvitrī and to right that of Sarasvatī.[1]

Like the *Agni* and *Matsya Purāṇas*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* spares its Third Khaṇḍa exclusively for iconic description In Adhyāya 44 of this Purāṇa, Brahmā has been pictured as sitting in the lotus-posture (Padmāsana) and has Sāvitrī placed on his left lap.[2] The striking feature of this description is the absence of Sarasvatī who has been represented with Sāvitrī by the *Agni* as well as the *Matsya-Purāṇa*

There remains not only a mere Purāṇic theory, but it has also taken econographical form. The dual image of Brahmā and Sarasvatī found in the Mathura Sculpture, shows partial acceptance of the formulas laid down by the Purāṇas[3]—partial, because sometimes the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* has been followed in depicting only Sāvitrī with Brahmā. But such distinction does not always prevail. An obvious attempt has been made at wiping out a distinction and the two goddesses are given their proper places by depicting both of them with Brahmā. This feature is available in some of the famous sculptures like "Mirpur Khas in Sindha"[4] and "the early Chola and late Hoysala Schools".[5]

Besides, the Purāṇas themselves let us believe that in the Purāṇic age, the theory of image-making had already been put into practice. This is evident from the following instances. Once the king Ambuvīci, after having known the great powers of Sarasvatī, had a great regard in his heart for her and consequently, taking the clay out of the Sarasvatī river, made an earthen image (Pratimā) of her.[6] Similarly in the *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, Sarasvatī has been said to

1. *MP*. 260.44.
   "आज्यस्थालीं न्यसेत्पार्श्वे वेदाश्च चतुरः पुनः ।
   वामपार्श्वेऽस्य सावित्रीं दक्षिणे च सरस्वतीम् ।।
2. Cf. Dr. Priyabala Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, Third-Khaṇḍa, Vol. II (Baroda, 1961), p 140.
3. Cf. Brindavan C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Image*, Part I, (Calcutta), p. 13.
4. Jitendra Nath Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, (Calcutta University, 1956), p. 518.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 518.
6. *SkP*. VI. 46. 16-17.

have been installed in the form of linga at the Sthāṇu-tīrtha by Śiva himself..[1] These instances will suffice to lead us to assume that in the Purāṇic age, we find not only allusions to the iconic features of various gods and goddesses, but we also witness that these were, by and by, translated into real iconography.

2. The Face

In iconography face attains very great importance. It is this alone through which the whole image is 'measured out. According to the *Mānasāra*, the image of Sarasvatī should be made in accordance with the daśatāla system —"sarasvatīm ca sāvitrīm daśatālen karyet".[2] The daśatāla system is taken to be the supreme one among tālamānas—Navatāla, Aṣṭatāla, Saptatāla, etc , and according to all these measurement systems, the whole image (Pratimā) should be ten times the face. This daśatāla system is again divided into the three categories according to its height giving the measurement the various names such as Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama daśatālas. As per rule, the largest daśatāla system divides the whole length of the image into 124 proportionally equal parts, the Madhyama into 120 and Adhama into 116.[3] The method of making the face is detailed in the same Śilpaśāstra.[4] The three varieties of daśatāla system have fully been discussed by Śrī Kumāra in the *Śilparatna*[5]. As regards the measurement of aṅgulas, a detailed description is given in the Mānasāra-Śilpaśāstra by Prasanna kumar Acharya.[6]

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1. *Vān. P.* S. M. 19 4

   "यत्रेष्ट्वा भगवान्स्थाणुः पूजयित्वा सरस्वतीम् ।
   स्थापयामास देवेशो लिङ्गाकारां सरस्वतीम् ।।"

2. *Mān AS.* 54. 19.
3. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *Indian Architecture according to Mānasāra-Śilpaśāstra*, (New York, 1927), pp. 78, 123.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

   "The face is taken as the standard of the tāla measurement and is generally twelve aṅgulas or about nine inches in length. The face is stated to be of vocal shape (Kukkuṭāṇḍa-sāmākāra, lit., 'shaped like the egg of a hen), ...".

5. *Śil R.* 5.1–114. ½; 6.1–11. ½; 7.1–42. ½.
6. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *A Summary of the Mānasara* (A paper submitted to the Lieden University for Ph.D. Degree), p. 35. The paramāṇu or atom is the smallest unit of measurement.

   8 Paramāṇu = 1 rathadhūli (lit. car-dust).
   8 Rathadhūlis = 1 bālāgra (lit. hair's end).

This is the detailed description of the face which has a impressive recognition in iconography. But so far as the Purāṇas are concerned, they actually do not go such a farther extent in connection with the face of a diety. While describing the face of Goddess Sarasvatī, they vary to a great extent Like her father Brahmā, she is often mentioned as having upto five faces. According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa*[1], like Brahmā, Brahmāṇī should have four faces. Similarly in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, she is described as having four heads.[2] According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, Sarasvatī has only one face.[3]

Śrī Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana in his *Rūpamaṇḍana*, has described forms of Sarasvatī, namely Mahāvidyā and Sarasvatī. There Mahavidyā is said to have one face (Ekavaktra)[4]. Moreover, like Brahma, Sarasvatī has also been depicted to have five faces. In this form she has been named 'Śāradā'[5].

Sarasvatī in Buddhism has some features similar and some dissimilar those of Brahmaṇic Sarasvatī while describing the farmer's iconic character, it is emphasised that she may have either one or three faces.[6] Like her, Vajrasarasvatī has also three faces 'Vajrasarasvatīm Śrīmukhām [7]

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8 Bālagras	=	1	likshā	(lit. a nit).
8 Likshās	=	1	Yūkā	(lit. a lause).
8 Yūkās	=	1	Yava	(lit. a barley corn)
8 Yavas	=	1	aṅgulas	(lit. finger's breadth).

Three kinds of aṅgulas are distinguished by the largest of which is made of 8 Yavas, the intermediate of 7 Yavas, and the smallest one of 6 Yavas."

1. *MP*. 261. 24.
2. *VP* 23.50.

"सैषा भगवती देवी तत्प्रसूतिः स्वयम्भुवः ।
चतुर्मुखी जगद्योनिः प्रकृतिर्गौः प्रकीर्तिता ॥"

3. cf Dr. Priyabala Shah, *op. cit.*, p 154.
4. Śrī Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, *Rūpamaṇḍana*, (Vārāṇasī, Samvat 2021), p. 88.
5. cf H Krishna Shastri, *Sauth Indian Image of Gods and Goddesses*, (Madras, 1916), p. 187.
6. Binaytosh Bhattacharya, *The Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 349.
7. *Sādh M*. 163.

3. The Implication of the Faces.

Now the implication of one and four faces are to be seen. It is held that her face represents either Sāvitrī or Gāyatrī.[1] At one place in the *Ṛgveda*, Sarasvatī is called 'Saptasvasā'[2] having the seven metres as her sisters where Gāyatrī is chief among them. All these metres separately or jointly symbolize not only the metres of the Veda, but actually they may be taken as symbolizing the Veda as a whole. This sense of one face of Sarasvatī tally with the fact that Vāk is said to have been issued from Brahmā's mouth.[3] This Vāk may be said as symbolizing the Veda; and Sarasvatī, who is prominently described in the Purāṇas as Vāk or Vāgdevī or the presiding deity of speech, may be said as having embodied Veda herself. Similarly the four faces of hers may also be taken as symbolising the four Vedas in the same way as the four faces of Brahmā represent the four Vedas.[4]

In the Purāṇas, it is widely held that Brahmā has created the whole universe For this creation, he had a pre-planning through his mind or intellect. This mind or intellect is nothing but the Veda itself which bears the cosmic feature endowed with four-fold nature.[5] This sense goes to the four Vedas and mind can be replaced by the four-fold nature or creation. So the four faces of Brahmā imply the four Vedas. Similarly the four faces of Sarasvatī undoubtedly stand for the same fact, for she also is said as creating the universe.

So far as the three faces are concerned, they may be taken as implying the three principal Vedas—*Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda* exclusive *Atharvaveda* which is supposed to be a later compendium. That is why she is called 'Trayī Vidyā' representing these three Vedas. She in fact represents all the Vidyās-namely

1 Dr. Priyabala Shah, *op. cit.*, p 154.

2. *ṚV*. VI. 61.10.

"उत नः प्रिया प्रियासु सप्तस्वसा सुजुष्टा । सरस्वती स्तोम्या भूत् ॥"

3. *Bhā. P.* III. 12.26; also cf. *BvP.*, I. 3.54.57.

4. Dr. Priyabala Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

"The four faces of Brahman represent the four Vedas : the eastern Ṛgveda, the southern Yajurveda, the the western Sāmaveda and the northern Atharvaveda".

5. Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *Matsya Purāṇa*—A study, (Varanasi, 1963), pp. 15, 28.

Yajñavidyā, Mahāvidyā, Guhyavidyā, Ātmavidyā, Ānviksikī, Trayī, Vārtā and Daṇḍanīti[1]

The conception of the five faces of Sarasvatī may be extended to the five Vedas in which *Nāṭyaśāstra* is included according to the new conception of the fifth Veda. Perhaps it has been reckoned so, because it embraces all the branches of arts and sciences[2] So this fifth Veda may be said to represent one of the faces of Sarasvatī obviously with the fact that she (Sarasvatī) is also said to represent the various arts and sciences[3] and, therefore, appropriately is called 'sarvasangītasandhānatālakāraṇarūpinī.[4]

4. The number of her hands and the objects held by them.

The number of hands of Sarasvatī differs from place to place in the Purāṇas. It is really very interesting to take them all into account. In the Purāṇas, Sarasvatī is mostly alluded to as having four hands. But by some of her Purāṇic epithets like 'Vīṇāpustakadhāriṇī[5]', she seems to have two hands having a lute (Vīṇā) and a book (Pustaka). The *Matsya-Purāṇa,* while prescribing certain rules for making the images of the various gods and goddesses states that Sarasvatī like Brahmā, should be made as having four hands.[6] Like the *Matsya,* the *Agni-Purāṇa* also prescribes that the image of goddess Sarasvatī should be made as having a book (Pustaka), a rosary (Akṣamālā), a lute (Vīṇā) and a water-vessel (Kumbhābja) in her respective hands.[7]

In the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa,* as in the other Purāṇas, a number of references puts forth her iconic character. At one place, she is described as having four hands. In her two right hands, she holds a book and a rosary, while in her two left hands she bears a water-vessel and a lute[8] Elsewhere also she is pictured

1. *Viṣ. P.* I. 9.120-21, *Pd. P.*V. 27.118, also cf. Ramaprasad Chomda, *The Indo-Aryan Races, A study* of *The Origin of the Indo-Aryan peiple and Institutions,* (Rajshahi, 1916), pp. 228-330.
2. *Nāt* Ś. I. 15-6.
3. I. Dowson, *A classical Dictionary* of *Hindu Mythology,* (London, 1961), p. 284.
4. *BVP.* II. 1.34.
5. *BVP.* II. 1. 35, 2. 55.
6. *MP.* 261.24
7. *AP.* 50. 16.
8. Dr. Priyabala Shah, *op. cit.,* p. 225

as having four hands, but the order of the emblems held in the right and the left hands differs. In the latter case, Sarasvatī is depicted as having a rosary and a trident in her two right hands and a book and a water-vessel in her left hands.[1] Thus Trident has been given in the place of lute (Vīṇā). At another place, she is mentioned as usual to have a book and a rosary in her right hands and 'Vaiṇavī' and a water-vessel in her left hands.[2] The word 'Vaiṇavī' has been read by Dr. Kramrisch as 'Vaiṣṇavī'[3] and by Dr. Priyabala Shah as the staff of Vīṇā made of bamboo.[4]

Besides, Sarasvatī has been reckoned one of the five Prakṛtis.[5] The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* while describing her as the Prakrti Gau, presents her as having four mouths, four horns, four teeth, four eyes and four hands.[6] Since she herself is the prakrti gau, all the animals are born under her impression as four-footed and four-breasted.[7]

In the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, an earthen image is said to have been made by the king Ambuvīci. That image is described to have four hands with a lotus, rosary, water-vessel and a book in the respective hands[8]. This shows the fulfilment of the rules laid down by the Purāṇas, according to which the image of goddess Sarasvatī would have been made.

In Jainism, most of the Vidyādevīs are four-handed; while in the Buddhism, the case differs. The Buddhistic Sarasvatī is said to have either two arms or six arms, and in case she is two armed,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 154. f.n. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 154 c. "The word Vaiṇavī requires some classification. I have amended the reading Vaiṇavī into Viṇaiva because Sarasvatī is traditionally known to carry Vīṇā and not a flute of bamboo which is the usual meaning of the word Vaiṇavī. On further, however, I find that it is not necessary to change the reading into Vaiṇava because, the word Vaiṇavī does not mean Vīṇā. It indicates the staff of Vīṇā which must have been made of bamboo as in the case of the present 'Ekatīra'
5. *BVP*. II. 1. 1 ff.
6. *VP*. 23. 44-45.
7. *VP*. 23. 88.
8. *SKP*. VI 46. 16-19.

she has her four forms under different names.[1] She is also said to have eight[2] and even ten arms.[3]

5. The implication of the objects held in the hands

The four arms of Sarasvatī, like her four faces, represent the four Vedas[4], and Kamaṇḍalu represents, the nector of all Śāstras[5]. Since she symbolises the entire knowledge she symbolises all the Śāstras, too. She holds a book in one of her hands and this also conveys the same sense[6]. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* VI. 46. 19, while defining the book in the one of the hands of Sarasvatī says 'pustakaṃ ca tathā vāme sarvavidyāsamudbhavam.' Since other concepts of Sarasvatī have developed[7] from her watery form, e g. Sarasvatī as a river, it is also maintained that Sarasvatī has created all the tanmātrās[8] which are but essential for the creation of the Universe and of which water is one. As prakṛti, she is advocated to have created the Universe[9]. The water is fundamentally necessary for this purpose. It is, perhaps, for this reason that she has water in her water-vessel and thus by it, she, perhaps, also denotes her earliest association with water. This water may not be thought of an ordinary type. It is divine (divya) and it is only in this capacity that it may be thought to have been kept in the water-vessel of Sarasvatī.[10]

Similarly the lute (Vīṇā) held by Sarasvatī is also not less important. It is held that the lute represents a kind of achievement or proficiency.[11] This close relation of the lute and the book cannot be ignored. Sarasvatī, no doubt, represents the principles of speech and for this very reason, she has been identified with speech (vāg vai sarasvatī) in the Brāhmaṇas. Now, this speech can

1. cf. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-51.
2. *Vaik R.* 15.
3. H. Krishna Śāstrī, *op. cit.*, p. 187.
4. Dr. Priyabala Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
6. *Ibid.*, p 186.
7. cf. James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion And Ethics*, Vol II, (New York, 1954), p. 196.
8. cf. Vasudev S. Agrawal, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
9. cf. *BVP*. II. 1. 1. ff.
10. *SKP*. VI. 46. 19.
11. Dr. Priyabala Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

reasonably be divided into sound (dhvani) and word (pada, vākya etc.,). The book in the hand of Sarasvatī may also be taken to represent besides what is said above, the second element while the lute in her hand represents the first element. Only the lute, and no other musical instrument has been described in the hand of the goddess The lute is the most ancient musical instrument and finds mention in the *Aitāreya Āraṇyaka*. Melody helps mental concentration The lute is the best instrument resorted to for this purpose, because it is highly useful for producing Soma song.[1] Moreover the goddess is said to have a rosary in one of her hands. This rosary in the hand of the goddess usually represents Time.[2]

Abbreviations

Ait Br.	Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
A P.	Agni-Purāṇa
Bv P.	Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa
Bhā P.	Bhāgavata-Purāṇa
D. Bhā.	Devī Bhāgavata-Purāṇa
Gop. Br.	Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa
M P.	Matsya-Purāṇa
Mān. Ā S.	Mānasāra on Architecture and Sculpture
Nāt. Ś.	Nātya-Śāstra
Pd. P.	Padma-Purāṇa
R. V.	Ṛgveda
Śat. Br.	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
Śāṅ. Br.	Śāṅkhāyana-Brāhmaṇa
Sādh. M.	Sādhana-Mālā
Śil. R.	Śilparatna
Sk P.	Skanda-Purāṇa
Taitt. Br.	Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
Tāṇḍ. Br.	Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa
V. P.	Vāyu-Purāṇa
Vām. P.	Vāmana-Purāṇa
Viak. R.	Vaikṛta-Rahasya
Viṣ. P.	Viṣṇu-Purāṇa

1. cf. *D. Bhā.* III. 30. 2.
2. Dr. Priyabala Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

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A HITHERTO UNKNOWN MANUSCRIPT OF THE SVARGA-KHAṆḌA OF THE BENGAL RECENSION—ITS CHARACTER AND IMPORTANCE

By

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् विदुषा लेखकेन पद्मपुराणस्थस्वर्गखण्डस्य वङ्गीयपाठस्य अद्यावधि अज्ञाता एका हस्तप्रतिः या श्यामाचरणकविरत्नमहोदयस्य पुस्तकालयतः उपलब्धा परीक्षिता। सम्प्रति पद्मपुराणे पञ्चपञ्चाशत् सहस्रश्लोकाः उपलभ्यन्ते। अस्य पुराणस्य विभागस्तु खण्डेषु कृतो वर्तते। लेखकमहोदयेन प्रमाणपुरस्सरं स्थापितं यदादौ इदं पुराणं द्वादशसहस्रश्लोकात्मकमासीदस्य विभागस्तु पर्वसु कृत आसीत्। स्वर्गखण्डस्य अष्ट हस्तलेखा उपलब्धा वर्तन्ते। तेषु विवेच्यो हस्तलेखः अधिकः प्रमाणिकः प्राचीनश्च इति नानाप्रमाणैः पुष्टीकृतम्।]

Although the Padma-purāṇa in its entirety has been printed and published by five different scholars, yet the conclusion is irresistible that it has never been critically edited. It is a voluminous work consisting of extensive parts called Khaṇḍas which are five in number in the Bengal recension, i. e Sṛṣṭi, Bhūmi, Svarga, Pātāla and Uttara and six in Devanāgarī recension which replaces the Svarga by Ādi (called Svarga in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition) and Brahma. But although it has been published more than once, none represents the proper Bengal recension of it. There are reasons to believe that the Bengal recension of the Padma-purāṇa had perhaps a distinct text of its own which was in course of time not traceable on account of the overwhelming superiority of its Devanāgarī counterparts. At present there are some chapters of some Khaṇḍas which distinguish the two recensions of it. But the Svarga-Khaṇḍa in its entirety stands an exception to it. Remaining completely unrecognised in the Devanāgarī recension of it, this Khaṇḍa is a distinct text of varied interest. Its main importance lies in the fact that it may or may not possibly be regarded as the source of Kālidāsa's famous drama Abhijñānaśakuntalā. It is Prof. Winternitz who has first created interest in the minds of scholars with regard to the position and

importance of the Svarga-Khaṇḍa. He has remarked, "It will not be possible to decide the question of the source of Śakuntalā drama finally, as long as we do not possess a reliable text of the Padma-purāṇa and as long as it is not possible to make a thorough comparison of the two texts"

The Svarga-Khaṇḍa has never been published and so far as our information goes eight complete manuscripts of it are traceable Of these, two belong to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, one to the National Library, Calcutta, one to the Sahitya Parisat Library, Calcutta, one to the Samskrta Siksā Parisat, Calcutta, one to the Dacca University Library, East Pakistan one to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the last to the Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, West Germany.

We have had the opportunity to examine all these manuscripts in details But quite recently we have been able to secure another manuscript of the Svarga-Khaṇḍa which we have reasons to believe, decidedly preserves the older text. This was found in the private collections of Pandit Shyamacharan Kaviratna, Howrah.[1] This is complete in 107 folios. But on account of the fault in numbering of some of the pages the last page is numbered 105 instead of 107. The error is first seen in page 22 where there is double numbering 22 and 20. Of these the latter was originally written but afterwards corrected as 22. Similar is the case with page 23 which bears an old but erroneous number *21*. From this page no attempt has whatsoever been made to correct the numbering of the pages. This false numbering has been allowed to continue It is all the more curious to note that the numbering of 38 is 36 as usual but there was another numbering of this page also which was 35 instead of 38. This numbering of 35 has been wiped out. From pages 93 to 107, there are always the double numbering one is from 91 to 105 the other is curiously one higher, i. e., from 92-106.

It is written on country made paper in Bengali character with nine lines (3+3+3) in each page. The page 105a, however, contains ten lines (3+4+3). Pages 47 and 76a also contain ten

1 We are grateful to Sri Balai Chandra Banerjee, Govt. Pleader, Howrah, who has kindly lent it to me for examination from the private collection of his grandfather, pandit Kaviratna.

lines but that extra line denotes entirely later additions. Its size is 16 2×5·2. It is in good condition. It begins with 'Oṃ śrī śrī hariḥ' and its post colophon is as follows.

> Yatnena likhitam granthaṃ yaś corayati mānavaḥ/
> mātā ca śūkarī tasya pitā tasya ca gardabhaḥ//
> śrīr-astu lekhake pāṭhake ca

Following are the grounds for considering it as preserving an earlier text

In addition to the Khaṇḍas already mentioned above, there are innumerable treatises which though being originally independent claim to be parts of the Padma-purāṇa. It is due to the huge mass of it, the Vāyu-purāṇa, Matsya-purāṇa and some other Purāṇas state that the Padma-purāṇa consists of 55000 ślokas. But a careful examination of the present Padma-purāṇa shows that originally it consisted neither of such a huge bulk nor of distinct parts called Khaṇḍas. At one place in the Padma-purāṇa it is found that the whole of the Padma-purāṇa was spoken out by Marīci for Vyāsa's sake in five parts called parvans. Of these five parvans, the first dealt with the origin of Virāj, the second dealt with all the planets and the mountains, continents and seven oceans, the third contained the accounts of those Kings who paid large amount of money as priestly fees, and also treated of the creation by Rudra and the curse of Dakṣa, the fourth dealt with the origin of Kings and with the history of all the royal families and the fifth treated of the nature of final liberation and the way of attaining it

That the Padma-purāṇa in its earlier form with the Parva division and with Brahmā and Marīci as interlocutors, was a much shorter work is shown not only by the above quoted rendering of the verses in which the Padma-purāṇa is said to have been spoken out briefly in five parvans but also by the Agni-purāṇa and the Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa of the present Padma-purāṇa. The Agni-purāṇa says (272,2).

> Vaiśākhyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ ca swargārthī jaladhenumat/
> padmaṃ dvādaśa-sāhasraṃ jyaiṣṭhe dadyāc ca dhenumat//

It is clear that it knows a Padma-purāṇa consisting of 12000 verses. The Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa says that the Padma-purāṇa consisted of 12000 verses in the Kaliyuga, that the entire Purāṇa of 12000

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verses would perish in the Kali age and that this work would again come into being for the first time in that age (Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa, 125. 43-45).

This fact that the Padma-purāṇa was probably not such voluminous as it appears to be is also corroborated by the evidence of the Bengal manuscripts of the Uttara-Khaṇḍa, the necessary passages of which are as follows:

> dvādaśātha sahasrāṇi pāṣaṇḍāpahṛtāni vai/
> kalau nāśam prayāsyanti prathamaṃ dvijasattamah//
> vinā dvādaśa sāhasra padmānyapi mahāphalam/
> kalau yuge pathisyanti purāṇam padmasamjñakam//

It is to be noted that though the writer of these verses made an attempt to give the present amplified text of the Padma-purāṇa a garb of greater antiquity, he has not denied the loss of the 12000 ślokas belonging to this work.

So it is evident that the Padma-Purāṇa in its earlier form was much shorter and had its division known as the Parvans. We become all the more interested when we read and carefully examine this newly discovered manuscript. On two occasions its colophon distinctly mentions its Parva division, reads 'ityādi mahāpurāṇe pādme tṛtīye parvaṇi svargakhaṇḍe śākuntale prathamo' dhyāyaḥ, and 'iti śrīpadmapurāṇe tṛtīye parvaṇi svargakhaṇḍe anukrama-varṇanaṃ nāmāṣṭātriṃśattamo' dhyāyaḥ Not any of the eight manuscripts of the Svarga khaṇḍa mentioned above refers or seem to refer to the earlier division, i. e, Parva division of it. They all along in each of their colophons testify to the presence only of the Khaṇḍa division of it. This seems that this newly discovered manuscript is an older one.

Secondly, we have carefully calculated the total number of the verses of the Svargakhaṇḍa. Taking into consideration nineteen verses of the 20th chapter the bulk of which is written in prose, the total number of it is 2875. The variant of number of these ślokas is not more than 20 in all the cases. But the number of the ślokas in this manuscript is much more than its counterpart. There is no numbering of ślokas in each chapter ; it may be nearing 2600. The contents of two entire chapters are conspicuous by their absence in it. These are no. 28 and no 38. Thus while all other have 40 chapters, it has 38 chapters only. Besides these quite a

number of verses from different chapers of it are missing in this manuscript. This tends to suggest that this belongs to the comparatively early recension of the Padma-purāṇa which, as we have noticed above, consists of lesser number of verses.

Thirdly a careful examination of the Svargakhaṇḍa shows that it has derived quite a large number of chapters and isolated verses from the Mahābhārata. The following short analysis will show the indebtedness of the writer of the Svargakhaṇḍa to the compiler of the Mahābhārata.

Mahābhārata (Ādi), Chapter 67, Verses 1-22 = Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter I, verse 44-64

Mahābhārata (Ādi), Chapter 67, Verses 23-33 = Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter II, verses 1-14.

Mahābhārata (Ādi), Chapter 68, Verses 18-80 = Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter III, verses 42-103.

Mahābhārata (Ādi), Chapter 69, Verses 1-27 = Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter IV, verses 1-23.

Mahābhārata (Ādi), Chapter 69, Verses 38-49 = Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter VI, verses 1-12.

Mahābhārata (Āraṇyaka) Chapter 192 Verses 6-29
-do- Chapter 193 Verses 1-27
-do- Chapter 194 Verser 2-25
-do- Chapter 195 Verser 1-33
} Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter XVII, verses 2-96.

-do- Chapter 130 Verses 17-20
-do- Chapter 131 Verses 1-30
} Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter XVIII, verses 2-43

Mahābhārata (Droṇa),
Chapter 173 verses 20-33 = Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter XX, verses 2-15 (after 79 liness of prose begins the verse)

Mahābhārata (Āśvamedhika),
Chapter 5 Verses 3-26
do Chapter 6 Verses 2-33
} = Svargakhaṇḍa, Chapter XIX, verses 2-53

Mahābhārata Chapters 7 and 8 correspond to Chapter XX (including its prose portion)

do	Chapter 9	corresponds to Chapter XXI
do	Chapter 10	corresponds to Chapter XXI

It may be mentioned, however, that our manuscript in question is comparatively free from the influence of the Mahābhārata. At least at some places it uses comparatively less terms and terminologies, words and phrases of the Mahābhārata as compared to its eight other counterparts. A difference of it with other eight manuscsipts so far as the Śakuntalā episode is concerned may be shown. It is needless to mention that all other eight manuscripts show much more remarkable affinity with the Mahābhārata than this one. The following chart will classify it :

This manuscript	*Mahābhārata and other manuscripts*
Chapter I	
46c sarvarājyam	sarvaṃ rājyam
54a dharma	dharmya
Chapter II	
1b āgamat	āśrayat
5d anindite	śakuntale
Chapter III	
44a gūhayante	gūhamānā
46c kalpanam	kalyāṇam
57d ātmāpakāriṇā	ātmāpahāriṇā
61a cāsya	tasya
65b saṃprati	saṃsadi
73d priyānvitāḥ	śriyānvitāḥ
76a saṃvasantam	saṃsarantam
76b viṣayeṣv	viṣameṣv
77a saṃhitā	saṃsthitā
80d prāpa sa	prāpy eva
81d gharmātmā	gharmārtāḥ
84b dharaṇī-reṇu-luṇṭhitaḥ	°reṇu-guṇṭhitaḥ
88d sūtaḥ	putraḥ
93a ya	mām
Chapter IV	
14b anyam	anyān
21b satyāc ca	satyaṃ ca

The twenty-eighth chapter which bears some ideas and passages similar to those of the Mahābhārata is conspicuous by its absence in it. This may lead to conclusion that in all probability it belongs to the earlier recension of the Padma-purāṇa which may not have copiously used the identical words, parts of sentence, and verses of the Mahābhārata. Its latter redactors in order to increase the bulk of it more for propagating their views have freely copied from the Mahābhārata—the ever-eternal fountain of Indian thoughts.

Fourthly, the colophons of all these eight manuscripts are all the same while those of this manuscıpt differs a bit from them. While all other manuscripts mention 'iti śrī-padma-purāṇe,' the colophons of this one runs as follows 'ityadi-mahāpurāṇe pādme' suggesting its inclusion in different type of recensions

Fifthly it may be pointed out that while dealing with the Marutta-episode, this manuscript is bereft of nineteen verses where king Marutta glorifies Śiva in order to fetch gold by which he can perform his sacrifice. It is needless to mention that all other manuscripts contain it and the passages similar to it can also be found in the Mahābhārata VII 173. This suggests its antiquity as we know the latter redactors of the Śaiva sects took up the whole of this Khaṇḍa, nay the whole of the Padma-purāṇa, tried to wipe out its Vaiṣṇava influence and administer from place to place certain passages glorifying Śiva.

Sixthly, it is interesting to note that the first six chapters (leaving aside the beginning portion of, chapter I i. e., verses 1-43) of the Svarga-Khaṇḍa deal with the Śakuntalā-episode. Here the colophon of this manuscript varies with that of others. While others run as 'iti śrī-padma-purāṇe śākuntale' (ity-ādi-mahāpurāṇe' of course runs over through out all the colophons). This shows a distinction of it—however minor may it be—with its counterparts.

Last but not the least, this is the only dated munuscript of the Svarga khaṇḍa while all other lack, and it shows that the scribe sends this work after completion to a King or Zamindar through the hands of one Laksminarayan Chattoraj. It bears the date Śaka 1763, (1861 A .D.) The scribe was aware that this one was not similar to its other counterparts.

THE PURĀNIC THEORY OF THE YUGAS AND KALPAS—A STUDY

By

Anand Swarup Gupta

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे युग-मन्वन्तर-कल्पादीनां प्रमाण-संख्या-स्वरूपाणां मनुस्मृति-महाभारत-पुराण-ज्यौतिषदृष्ट्या विवेचनं कृतम् । अस्य सिद्धान्तस्य विषये आधुनिकदृष्ट्याऽपि कश्चिद् विचारोऽत्र कृतः । युगादीनां दैववर्षेषु मानं ज्यौतिषसिद्धान्तग्रन्थेषु पुराणेषु चैवोपलभ्यते अत्र विषये प्राचीनतरं मानं मानुषवर्षेष्वेवासीदित्यपि प्रदर्शितमत्र । सहस्रचतुर्युगाणामेकः कल्पः इत्येतावत्येव प्राचीना मानगणना आसीत् । युग-मन्वन्तर कल्प इत्यनेन क्रमेण गणना तु प्रायः पौराणिकी, सा चापि ज्यौतिष-सिद्धान्तनिबन्धना । पुराणानुसारेण सूर्यसिद्धान्तानुसारेण च चतुर्युग मन्वन्तर-कल्पमानस्य तुलनात्मको विचारोऽपि कृतः । ज्यौतिष पुराणादि-प्राचानीमतानुसारेण कल्पस्य मानं प्रदर्श्य तदनुसारेण पृथिव्या उत्पत्त्या वर्तमानं काल-मानम् दत्त्वा, आधुनिक भूगर्भ-विज्ञानदृष्ट्याऽपि पृथिव्युत्पत्त्या वर्त्तमानकालसूचिकैका तालिकाऽप्यत्र प्रदीयते ।]

The Purāṇas have given the long computations of the Yugas and the Kalpas, in which they have divided the duration of the Universe (Brahmāṇḍa) both in its manifest and semi-manifest forms. The Purāṇas have conceived the Time or *Kāla* as beginningless and endless, and so there is no break in the order of the creation, preservation and dissolution of the Universe, in other words, there is no break in the continuity of the universe in some form or the other; for, even in the *Pralaya* the universe is not totally destroyed, but merges into its unmanifest cause from which it emerged at the time of its creation, as says the Gītā—

अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।
अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ (2. 28)

(Beings are unmanifest in their origin, manifest in the interval, and unmanifest in their end). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa puts this Purāṇic

truth of the continuity of the creation, preservation and dissolution of the universe in clear words :—

अनादिर्भगवान् कालो नान्तोऽस्य द्विज विद्यते ।
अव्युच्छिन्नास्ततस्त्वेते सर्गस्थित्यन्तसंयमाः ॥
(Viṣ.-P., I 2 26)

Thus the creation, preservation and dissolution (*Sṛṣṭi*, *Sthiti* and *Pralaya*) go on taking place after each other in the fixed order and after fixed intervals like the day and night

The Purānas call the duration of the Universe in its manifest form (i. e. the time of its creation and preservation, or its *Sṛṣṭi-kāla* and *Sthiti-kāla*) as a Kalpa which is regarded as the Day of Brahmā, the Creator, on the analogy of the day of man when he is active.

A Kalpa has been divided into 14 Manvantaras, and each Manvantara into 71 Catur-Yugas (a term generally used in the Purāṇas) or Daiva-Yugas (a term used in the Manu-Smṛti) or Mahāyugas (a term generally found used in the astronomical works). Each Mahāyuga consists of four Yugas, viz. Kṛta-Yuga, (or Satya-Yuga), Tretā-Yuga, Dvāpara-Yuga and Kali-Yuga, of descending duration of the ratio of 4 3:2 1 Thus, the Kṛta-Yuga is of 4,000 divine years with a *Sandhi* of 400 divine years in the beginning and a *Saṁdhyāṁśa* of the similar length at the end, the Tretā-Yuga is of 3,000 divine years with a *Sandhi* and a *Saṁdhyāṁśa* of 300 divine years each, the Dvāpara-Yuga of 2,000 divine years with a *Sandhi* and *Saṁdhyāṁśa* of 200 divine years each and the Kaliyuga of 1000 divine years with a *Sandhi* and a *Sandhyāṁśā* of 100 divine years each. All these four Yugas (with their durations in the descending order, i e. of 4000+400+400, 3000+300+300, 2000+200+200, 1000+100+100 divine years) make a Mahāyuga of 12,000 divine years, each divine year being equal to 360 human years.

This computation of the length of the four Yugas has been considered by some modern scholas as 'purely hypothetical'[1], 'extravagant'[2] and 'gigantic'[3]. But considering the eternity and

1. A. D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epic and the Purāṇas*, Introduction, p. lvi.
2. A Cunningham, *The Book of Indian Eras*, p. 4.
3. K.D. Sethna, 'Megasthenes and Indian Chronology', *Purāṇa*, X. 2 (July 1968) p. 131.

infinity of the Time (*Kāla*), no division of time, whatever may be its length, can properly be called as extravagant and gigantic. And according to the Indian philosophical conception, *Time* is one and indivisible and so any division of time by its very nature must be purely hypothetical and imaginary It must be conceded, however, that this long computation of the Yugas as given in the Purāṇas may also be taken as representing the later Purāṇic view only, for the earliar view seems to favour a much smaller computation of the four Yugas.

The Manu Smrti gives the length of the four Yugas as follows :—

चत्वार्याहुः सहस्राणि वर्षाणां तु कृतं युगम् ।
तस्य तावच्छती संध्या संध्यांशश्च तथाविधः ॥
इतरेषु ससंध्येषु ससंध्यांशेषु च त्रिषु ।
एकापायेन वर्त्तन्ते सहस्राणि शतानि च ॥
यदेतत् परिसंख्यातमादावेव चतुर्युगम् ।
एतद् द्वादशसाहस्रं देवानां युगमुच्यते ॥ (1.69-71)

From these ślokas it appears that the Manu-smṛti gives the length of the four Yugas most probably in the human years and not in the divine years: for, firstly, it does not mention here these years as *daiva* (*divine*), and secondly, in the last śloka (71) quoted above, four human Yugas ('मानुषं चतुर्युगम्' कुल्लूकटीका) of the collective length of 12,000 years (एतद् द्वादशसाहस्रं) are said to make a *devānāṁ yugam* (Divine Yuga) and if these four Yugas are *mānuṣa* (human), then the length of their duration might also have been intended as *mānuṣa* But following the Purāṇic view the commentator Kullūka remarks here that the number of the years of the duration of the four Yugas mentioned here is divine (वर्षसंख्या चेयं दिव्यमानेन तस्यैवानन्तरप्रकृतत्वात्')

The Mahābhārata (Vana-Parva, 188.22-26, Nīlakaṇṭha's text) gives also the length of the four Yugas which is similar to that given by the Manu-Smṛti, but it (the Mbh.) does nowhere mention the years as *divine* It does not even says that the four Yugas collectively make one *divya* Yuga ; it simply mentions that the 12,000 years of the four Yugas are collectively called the *yugākhyā*—

एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्त्तिता । (27 cd)

But the Purāṇas clearly mention the years of the duration of the four Yugas as *divya* (divine); e. g.—

दिव्यैर्वर्षसहस्रैस्तु कृतत्रेतादिसंज्ञितम् ।
चतुर्युगं द्वादशभिस्तद्विभागं निबोध मे ॥
चत्वारि त्रीणि द्वे चैकं कृतादिषु यथाक्रमम् ।
दिव्याब्दानां सहस्राणि युगेष्वाहुः पुराविदः ॥
तत्प्रमाणैः शतैः संध्या पूर्वा तत्राभिधीयते ।
संध्यांशश्चैव तत्तुल्यो युगस्यानन्तरो हि सः ॥

(Viṣṇu P., I. 3 12-14)

कृतं त्रेता द्वापरं च कलिश्चेति चतुर्युगम् ।
देवैर्वर्षसहस्रैस्तु तद् द्वादशभिरुच्यते ॥

(Brahma. P., 229. 5)

This Purāṇic computation of the length of the four Yugas in the divine years seems to be a later elaboration, the earlier computation as given in the Manu-smṛti and the Mahābhārata being much smaller. But even the earlier Purāṇic view as represented by the Vāyu-Purāṇa (32.58 ff.) seems to favour the smaller computation in the human years According to this Purāṇa the *Caturynga* (four Yugas taken collectively) of the length of 12,000 years has four *Pādas* or quarters in the form of the four Yugas ; thus—

1.	Kṛta-yuga	4,800 years	Prakriyā-Pāda
2.	Tretā-yuga	3,600 years	Anuṣaṅga-Pāda
3.	Dvāpara-yuga	2,400 years	Upodghāta-Pāda
4.	Kali-yuga	1,200 years	Saṁhāra-Pāda

The Purāṇa is said to be also of the 12,000 ślokas and to have the similar four *Pādas* :—

एतद् द्वादशसाहस्रं चतुर्युगमिति स्मृतम् ।
एवं पादैः सहस्राणि श्लोकानां पञ्च पञ्च च ॥
संध्यासंध्यांशकैरेव द्वे सहस्रे तथापरे ।
एवं द्वादशसाहस्रं पुराणं कवयो विदुः ॥
यथा वेदश्चतुष्पादश्चतुष्पादं तथा युगम् ।
यथा युगं चतुष्पादं विधात्रा विहितं स्वयम् ।
चतुष्पादं पुराणं तु ब्रह्मणा विहितं पुरा ॥

(Vāyu-P. 32. 65-67)

Here the 12,000 years of the *Catur-yuga* and its four *Pādas* are said to be corresponding with the 12,000 ślokas and the four *Pādas* of the Purāṇa, which indicates that the computation of the four Yugas according to the Vāyu Purāṇa here is in the human years and not in the divine years. The context preceding these ślokas also leads to the same conclusion.

But later on the Purāṇas elaborated the computation of the length of the four Yugas, perhaps under the influence of the *Siddhānta Jyotisa*, and so the computation of the four Yugas in the *human years* was replaced by that in the *divine years*, which made a lot of difference. According to the earlier computation in the human years the length of a *Catur-yuga* was 12,000 years, while according to the later Purāṇic computation in *divine* years, the length of the *Caturyuga* comes to 43,20,000 (12,000×360) human years.

A Cunningham in his '*Book of the Indian Eras*' has suggested the source of this longer Purāṇic computation in divine years. According to him the present Purāṇic system of computation is the invention of the astronomers "which they based on their newly acquired knowledge of the precession". The precession of the equinoxes per year fixed by Parāśara was 46 5 seconds and that by Ārya-bhaṭa was 46,2 seconds. Shri K. D. Sethna in his article 'Megasthenes and Indian Chronology' (Pub. in '*Purāṇa*' X. 2) on the basis of these facts analyses this problem as follows:

Given the precession, what would be the period of one revolution through the whole circle of the ecliptic of 360 degrees? As 60 minutes make 1 degree and 60 seconds 1 minute, to cover the full circle of the ecliptic takes 1,296,000 (360×60×60) seconds divided by 46.5 or 46.2. Then we get $\frac{12,960,000}{465}$ or $\frac{12,660,000}{462}$ years, which by dividing them by three become $\frac{43,20,000}{155}$ and $\frac{43,20,000}{154}$ years. The numerator is exactly the number of years which goes into a Mahāyuga (or Caturyuga). And 43,20,000 years is the period in which the ecliptic would be circled 155 or 154 times.

According to both the earlier view and the later Purāṇic view 1,000 Caturyugas go to make the length of the duration of

a Kalpa, i.e. the duration of the existence of the universe, which is also called Brahmā's Day (ब्रह्माहः); cf.—

दैविकानां युगानां तु सहस्रं परिसंख्यया ।
ब्राह्ममेकमहर्ज्ञेयं तावती रात्रिरेव च ॥

(Manu Smṛti 1 72)

एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्त्तिता ।
एतत् सहस्रपर्यन्तमहो ब्राह्ममुदाहृतम् ॥

(Mbh., Vana-P., 188 28)

कृतं त्रेता द्वापरश्च कलिश्चैव चतुर्युगम् ।
प्रोच्यते तत्सहस्रं च ब्रह्मणो दिवसं मुने ॥

(Viṣṇu-P., I. 3 15)

In the Nirukta and the Bhagavad-Gītā the Caturyuga or the Mahāyuga is simply called as the *Yuga*—

'तदेतदहर्युगसहस्रं ········ युगसहस्रं रात्रिस्तावेतावहोरात्रावजस्रं परिवर्त्तेते'—

Nirukta, 14 4.

सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्यद्ब्रह्मणो विदुः ।
रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥

(Bhag.-Gītā, 8. 17; Nirukta 14. 4)

By the word 'Yuga' used by Yāska here Prof Mankad in his work *Purāṇic Chronology*, remarks that "the designation (Caturyuga or Kalpa or Divya-yuga) employed by the Purāṇas for units of extreme length are replaced by one (i. e. *Yuga*) which Purāṇically means a lesser duration". But I think Yāska's *yuga* is the same as the *Daiva Yuga* of the Manu-Smrti or the *Caturyuga* of the Purāṇas, for the Manu-Smṛti uses the term '*Yuga*' as a synonym for its '*Daivika yuga*' also; cf.

दैविकानां युगानां तु सहस्रं परिसंख्यया ।
ब्राह्ममेकमहर्ज्ञेयं तावती रात्रिरेव च ॥ 72
तद्वै युगसहस्रान्तं ब्राह्मं पुण्यमहर्विदुः ।
रात्रिं च तावतीमेव तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ 73

(Manu -Smṛti, Adh. 1)

Compare also the Vāyu-Purāṇa, 32, 67, quoted above, where the word *Yuga* is used for the Chatur-yuga.

YUGAS ASSOCIATED WITH DHARMA

The four Yugas are associated with *dharma* or moral virtues, and the *dharma* gradually decreases by one *pāda* (quarter) from Kṛta to Kali. Thus, the *dharma* in the kṛta-Yuga is of all the four *pādas* (i. e. in its entirety), in the Tretā it loses its one pāda and becomes of three *pādas* only, and so on up to Kali-Yuga when its one pāda only remains ; cf. the Manu-Smṛti 1. 81-82 :—

चतुष्पात् सकलो धर्मः सत्यञ्चैव कृते युगे ।
नाधर्मेणागमः कश्चिन्मनुष्यान् प्रतिवर्त्तते ॥
इतरेष्वागमाद् धर्मः पादशस्त्ववरोपितः ।
चौरिकानृतमायाभिर्धर्मश्चापैति पादशः ॥

Thus, there is the gradual deterioration from Yuga to Yuga. The period of human age is also subject to this gradual deterioration. In the Kṛta yuga man lives for 400 years, in the Tretā 300 years in the Dvāpara 200 years and in the Kali-Yuga 100 years only :

अरोगाः सर्वसिद्धार्थाश्चतुर्वर्षशतायुषः ।
कृते त्रेतादिषु ह्येषामायुर्ह्रसति पादशः ॥

(*Ibid.*, Śl. 83)

This theory of the gradual deterioration in life from Yuga to Yuga is opposed to the modern theory of evolution.

The *dharma* of each Yuga differs from the other. In the Kṛta *tapas* (austerity) in the Tretā *jñāna* (knowledge of Self), in the Dvāpara *Yajña* (Sacrificial cult) and in the Kali *dāna* (charity) is the main *dharma* :

अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्त्रेतायां द्वापरे परे ।
अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगह्रासानुरूपतः ॥
तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते ।
द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे ॥

(*Ibid.*, Śl. 85-86)

Human actions bear fruits according to the influence of a Yuga :—

वेदोक्तमायुर्मर्त्यानामाशिषश्चैव कर्मणाम् ।
फलन्त्यनुयुगं लोके प्रभावश्च शरीरिणाम् ॥

(*Ibid*, Śl. 84)

The same view of the gradual deterioration from Yuga to Yuga and different characteristics and *dharma* of the Yugas is held by the Purāṇas and the Epics also. According to the Vāyu-Purāṇa even the different gods are worshipped in the different Yugas.—Brahmā in the Kṛta, Yajña in the Tretā, Viṣṇu in the Dvāpara and Mahādeva in the Kali :—

ब्रह्मा कृतयुगे पूज्यस्त्रेतायां यज्ञ उच्यते ।
द्वापरे पूज्यते विष्णुरहं पूज्यश्चतुर्ष्वपि ॥

(Vāyu. P., 32. 21)

Even the mode of worship differs from Yuga to Yuga—in the Kṛta *dhyāna* (meditation) in the Tretā worshipping by means of *Yajñas*, in the Dvāpara *arcā* or *pūjā*, and in the Kali the chanting and repetition of God's name bear similar fruits :—

ध्यायन्कृते यजन्यज्ञैस्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽर्चयन् ।
यदाप्नोति तदाप्नोति कलौ संकीर्त्य केशवम् ॥

(Viṣṇu-P. VI. 2. 19.)

MANVANTARAS

Neither Yāska, nor the Gītā, nor the Mbh.-Vana-Parva and nor even the Manu-Smṛti in the ślokas quoted above have inserted the computation of the fourteen *Manvantaras* within the frame of the scheme of computation of the *Brāhma-ahaḥ* (the Day of Brahmā) or the Kalpa, although the Manu-smṛti mentions seven Manu-s and their *antara-s* or durations during which they created and protected the creatures:—

स्वायम्भुवस्यास्य मनोः षड्वंश्या मनवोऽपरे ।
सृष्टवन्तः प्रजाः स्वाः स्वा महात्मानो महौजसः ॥ 61
स्वारोचिषश्चौत्तमिश्च तामसो रैवतस्तथा ।
चाक्षुषश्च महातेजा विवस्वत्सुत एव च ॥ 62
स्वायम्भुवाद्याः सप्तैते मनवो भूरितेजसः ।
स्वे स्वेऽन्तरे सर्वमिदमुत्पाद्यापुश्चराचरम् ॥ 63

(Manu, Adh. 1)

But in the Purāṇas as well as in the works of the Siddhānta-Jyotiṣa we have also the computation of the Manvantaras (the

periods of Manu-s), fourteen of which go to make the total period of a Kalpa or the *Brāhma-ahaḥ* (the Day of Brahmā) inserted between Yuga (i. e. the Mahāyuga) and Kalpa; cf.

ब्रह्मणो दिवसे ब्रह्मन् मनवस्तु चतुर्दश ।
भवन्ति परिमाणं च तेषां कालकृतं शृणु ॥ 16
चतुर्युगानां संख्याता साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ।
मन्वन्तरं मनोः कालः सुरादीनां च सत्तम ॥ 18
चतुर्दशगुणो ह्येष कालो ब्राह्ममहः स्मृतम् ।
ब्राह्मो नैमित्तिको नाम तस्यान्ते प्रतिसञ्चरः ॥ 22

(Viṣṇu-P., I. 3)

चतुर्युगसहस्रं तु कथ्यते ब्रह्मणो दिनम् ।
स कल्पस्तत्र मनवश्चतुर्दश द्विजोत्तमाः ॥

(Brahma-P , 231.12)

So, according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, a Manvantara (Manu's Period) consists of something more than 71 Catur-yugas (साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः) The commentator Śrīdhara explains the word *sādhikā* as follows:—"चतुर्युगसहस्रप्रमाणस्य ब्रह्मदिनस्य चतुर्दशधाविभागे प्रतिविभागमेकसप्ततिश्चतुर्युगानि भवन्ति : अवशिष्यते चतुर्युगषट्कान्तरस्य चतुर्दशांशो यथागणितः प्रतिमन्वन्तरमेकसप्ततेरधिक इत्यर्थः".

Thus, as the Day of Brahmā or Kalpa is equal to the 14 Manvantaras or 1000 Caturyugas, a Manvantara actually is equal to $71\frac{6}{14}$ Caturyugas $\left(\text{for, } 1000 \div 14 = 71 + \frac{6}{14}\right)$.

The Sūrya-Siddhānta (the earliest available work on the *Siddhānta-Jyotiṣa*) makes this point of '*sādhikā*' more clear. In its computation of Yugas and Kalpas it says that after every Manvantara there is a *Sandhi* equal to the period of a Kṛta-Yuga (i. e. of 4800 years) and this *Sandhi* after each Manvantara is characterised by *jala-plava* (water-immersion or deluge), and there is also a *Sandhi* in the beginning of a Kalpa, which (*Sandhi*) is the fifteenth and is also of the length of the Kṛta-Yuga :—

युगानां सप्ततिः सैका मन्वन्तरमिहोच्यते ।
कृताब्दसंख्या तस्यान्ते संधिः प्रोक्तो जलप्लवः ॥
ससंधयस्ते मनवः कल्पे ज्ञेयाश्चतुर्दश ।
कृतप्रमाणः कल्पादौ संधिः पञ्चदशः स्मृतः ॥

(Sūrya-Siddhānta, 1. 18-19)

Thus, the first Manvantara in a Kalpa has two *Sandhis*, one in the beginning and the other in the end, so there are 15 *Manvantara-sandhis* of 4800 years each in a Kalpa, besides the 14 Manvantaras of 71 Caturyugas each These 15 *Sandhis* ($=4800 \times 15 = 72{,}000$ years or 6 Caturyugas) and the 14 *Manvantaras* ($=71 \times 14 = 994$ Caturyugas, together make the total of 1000 Caturyugas.

The conception of the 14 Manvantaras forming the duration of a Kalpa or the Day of Brahmā is mainly Purāṇic. According to the Purānas a Manvantara is a period of $\frac{1000}{14}$ or $71\frac{6}{14}$ *Caturyugas* and according to the *Sūrya-sindhānta*, as quoted above, it is a period of 71 *Mahāyugas*+4800 divine years as its *Sandhi* except the first Manvantara which is of the period of 71 Mahāyugas+9600 divine years (the two *Sandhis* one in the beginning and the other at the end). Both these computations come to the same thing. Thus, according to this computation a Manvantara is a period of 8,52,000 divine years and 30,67,20,000 ($12000 \times 360 \times 71 + 17{,}28000$) mortal years [1]

A Manvantara is named after its presiding deity called *Manu* who is in charge of the preservation and protection of the universe during his period. According to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (III 1f.) out of the 14 Manvantaras of the present Kalpa *six* Manvantaras have already passed, viz.—

1. Svāyambhuva (स्वायम्भुव), 2. Svārociṣa (स्वारोचिष), 3. Uttama (उत्तम), 4 Tāmasa (तामस), 5. Raivata (रैवत) and 6. Cākṣusa (चाक्षुस).

The seventh called the Vaivasvata (वैवस्वत) is the *present* Manvantara and the seven *future* Manvantaras are as follows :—

8. Sāvarṇi (सावर्णि),
9. Daksa-sāvarṇi (दक्ष-सावर्णि),
10. Brahma-sāvarṇi (ब्रह्म-सावर्णि),
    or
    Meru-sāvarṇi (मेरु-सावर्णि) (Devī Bhāg. X. 13. 26).
11. Dharma-sāvarṇi (धर्म-सावर्णि)
    or
    Sūrya-sāvarṇi (सूर्य-सावर्णि) (D. Bhāg.)

1. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa I. 3. 19-21.

12. Rudra-sāvarṇi (रुद्र-सावर्णि)

    or

    Candra-sāvarṇi (चन्द्र-सावर्णि) (D. Bhāg.)

13. Raucya (रौच्य) (=Ag. P., Adh. 150; Hariv. I. 7. 5)

    or

    Deva-sāvarṇi (देव-सावर्णि) (Bhāg.-P. VIII. 13. 27)

14. Bhautya (भौत्य) (=Ag.-P.; Hariv.)

    or

    Indra-sāvarṇi (इन्द्र-सावर्णि) (Bhāg.-P.)

    or

    Viṣṇu-sāvarṇi (विष्णु-सावर्णि) (D. Bhāg.)

Of these future Manus the 8th is the son of Vivasvān (Sun) from his wife Chāyā, and is therefore the step-brother of Vaivasvata-Manu and resembles him, whence he is called *Sāvarṇi* (of the same *varṇa* or form). The next four Manus (9-12) are the sons of Priyavrata and the grandsons of Svāyambhuva-Manu (the first Manu). According to the Harivaṃśa (I. 7. 6) these four Manus (9-12) are also called *Meru-sāvarṇis*, for they obtained the Manu-hood by performing austerities on the Meru mountain (मेरुसावर्णाश्चत्वारो ब्रह्मसावर्णिः, रुद्रसावर्णिः, मेरुसावर्णिः, दक्षसावर्णिश्च। एते मेरौ तपः कृत्वा सिद्धिं प्राप्ता इति सर्वेऽपि मेरुसावर्णा इत्युच्यन्ते—नीलकण्ठः). Raucya is the son of Prajāpati Ruci and Bhautya is the son of Bhūti.

Each Manvantara has its own *Saptarṣis* (Seven Sages), gods, Indra, Manu and his royal sons who are in charge of the protection of the world and are simultaneously created in the beginning and destroyed at the end of their Manvantara :—

सप्तर्षयः सुराः शक्रो मनुस्तत्सूनवो नृपाः ।
एककाले हि सृज्यन्ते संह्रियन्ते च पूर्ववत् ॥

In each Manvantara the *Sāttvikī Śakti* of Viṣṇu is also incarnated in the form of his partial incarnation to help in the work of the protection of the universe.

Below are given gods (in their *gaṇas*), Indra, part-incarnation of Viṣṇu and principal Purāṇic episodes of each Manvantara according to the Viṣṇu.-P. (III. 1-2) and the Bhāg.-P. (VIII. 1-24) :

Manvantara or Manu	*Gaṇa-s of Gods*	*Indra*	*Viṣṇu's incarnation*	*Episode relating to*
1, Svāyambhuva	Yāma-s	......?	Yajña	Kapila
2 Svārociṣa	1 Pārāvata-s 2. Tusita-s	Vipaścit	Vibhu	...
3. Uttama	1. Sudhāman-s 2. Satya-s 3. Japa-s 4. Pratardana-s 5. Vaśavartīn-s	Suśānti	Satyasena	...
4. Tāmasa	1 Supāra-s 2. Hari-s 3. Satya-s 4. Sudhī-s	Śibi	Harimedhasa	Gajendramoksa
5. Raivata	1. Amitābha-s 2. Bhūtaraya-s 3. Vaikuṇṭha-s 4. Sumedha-s	Vibhu	Vaikuṇṭha	...
6 Cākṣuṣa	1. Āpya-s 2. Prasūta-s 3. Bhavya-s 4. Pṛthuka-s 5. Lekha-s	Manojava	Ajita	1. Samudramanthana (churning of the ocean) and Kūrma-Avatāra

				2. War between Gods and Asuras—Jambha Namuci etc. killed
7. Vaivasvata (Śrāddhadeva Manu)	1. Āditya-s 2. Vasu-s 3. Rudra-s 4. Visvedeva-s 5. Rbhu-s 6. Aśvin-s	Puraṁdara	Vāmana	Bali-Vāmana
8. Sāvarṇi	1. Sutapa-s 2. Amitābha-s 3. Mukhya-s	Bali	Sārvabhauma	
9. Dakṣa-sāvarṇi	1. Pāra-s 2. Marīcigarbha-s 3. Sudharman-s	Adbhuta	Ṛṣabha	
10. Brahma-sāvarṇi	1. Sudhāman-s 2. Viśuddha-s	Śānti (Vis-P) or Śambhu (Bhāg.)	Viṣvaksena	
11. Dharma-sāvarṇi	1. Vihaṅgama-s 2. Kāmagama-s 3. Nirvāṇarata-s	Vṛṣa (Viṣ. P.) Vaidhṛta (Bhāg.)	Dharmasetu	
12. Rudra-sāvarṇi	1. Harita-s 2. Rohita-s 3. Sumanas-s	Ṛtadhāman	Svadhāman	

	4. Sukar-man-s 5. Surāpa-s		
13. Raucya	1. Sutrā-man-s 2. Sukar-man-s 3. Sudhar-man-s	Divas-pati	Yogeśvara
14. Bhautya	1. Cāksu-sa-s 2. Pavitra-s 3. Kaniṣ-tha-s 4. Bhrā-jika-s 5. Vācāvr-ddha-s	Śuci	Bṛhad-bhānu

KALPA

As 1,000 Mahāyugas, each of 12,000 divine years or of 43,20,000 human years, make a Kalpa or cosmic period, the length or duration of a Kalpa comes to 1,20,00,000 divine years or 4,32,00,00,000 human years Since a Kalpa is the *Day of Brahmā* (Creator), 30 such Kalpas make a *Month of Brahmā.* And as there are 30 *tithis* (lunar days) of different designations in a lunar month, on the same analogy the different names of the 30 Kalpas of Brahmā's Month are given in the Matsya-Purāṇa (Adh. 290) as follows:

1. Śveta (श्वेत), 2. Nīla-lohita (नीललोहित), 3. Vāmadeva (वामदेव), 4 Rāthantara (राथन्तर), 5 Raurava (रौरव), 6. Deva (देव), 7. Bṛhat-kalpa (बृहत्कल्प), 8 Kandarpa (कन्दर्प), 9. Sadya (सद्य), 10. Īśāna (ईशान), 11. Tamaḥ (तमः), 12. Sārasvata (सारस्वत), 13. Udāna (उदान), 14. Gāruḍa (गारुड), 15. Kaurma (कौर्म), 16. Nārasiṁha (नारसिंह), 17. Samāna (समान), 18. Āgneya (आग्नेय), 19. Soma (सोम), 20. Mānava (मानव), 21. Tat-pumān (तत्पुमान्), 22. Vaikuṇṭha (वैकुण्ठ), 23. Lakṣmī-kalpa (लक्ष्मी-कल्प), 24. Sāvitrī-kalpa (सावित्रीकल्प),

25. Aghora (अघोर), 26. Vārāha (वाराह), 27. Vairāja (वैराज), 28. Gauri-kalpa (गौरिकल्प), 29. Maheśvara (माहेश्वर), 30. Pitṛ-kalpa (पितृकल्प).

Of these 30 Kalpas the 15th (*Kaurma*) is the Full-Moon Day (पौर्णमासी) and the 30th (*Pitṛ-kalpa*) the New-Moon Day (कुहू, अमावस्या) of Brahmā's Month.

Out of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas the following Purāṇas deal with the accounts of some of these Kalpas, as follows (see Matsya-P., Adh. 53):—

Purāṇa		*Kalpa*
Padma-Purāṇa	deals with	Pādma-Kalpa (?)
Viṣṇu-Purāṇa	,,	Vārāha-Kalpa (26)
Vāyu-Purāṇa	,,	Śveta-Kalpa (1)
Bhāgavata-P.	,,	Sārasvata-Kalpa (12)
Nāradīya-P.	,,	Bṛhat-Kalpa (7)
Agni-P.	,,	Īśāna-Kalpa (10)
Bhaviṣya-P.	,,	Aghora-Kalpa (25)
Brahma-vaiv.-P.	,,	Rāthantara-Kalpa (4)
Liṅga-P.	,,	Āgneya-Kalpa (18)
Vārāha-P.	,,	Mānava-Kalpa (20)
Skanda-P.	,,	Tat-puruṣa-Kalpa (21)
Vāmana-P.	,,	Kūrma-Kalpa (15)
Kūrma-P.	,,	Lakṣmī-Kalpa (23)
Garuḍa-P.	,,	Gāruḍa-Kalpa (14)

The Vāyu-Purāṇa (Adh 21) gives a different list of the 28 Kalpas (perhaps on the analogy of the 28 Nakṣatras or Constellations in a lunar month) as follows:—

1. भव, 2. भुवः, 3. तपः, 4. भव, 5 रम्भ, 6. ऋतुकल्प, 7. क्रतु, 8. वह्नि, 9. हव्यवाहन, 10. सावित्र, 11. भुवः, 12. उसिक, 13. कुशिक, 14. गन्धर्व, 15. ऋषभ, 16. षड्ज, 17. मार्जालीय, 18. मध्यम, 19. वैराजक, 20. निषाद, 21. पञ्चम, 22. मेघवाहन, 23. चिन्तक, 24. आकूति, 25 विज्ञाति, 26. मनः, 27. भाव, 28. बृहत् (or रथन्तर).

In addition to the twenty-eight Kalpas the Vāyu-P. (Adh. 22) gives 5 more Kalpas—1. श्वेतकल्प, 2. रक्त-, 3. पीतवासस्-, 4. कृष्ण-, 5. विश्वरूप—the names of which are derived from the *forms* which the Creator assumes in these Kalpas.

Each Kalpa (Cosmic Period) or the Day of Brahmā is followed by the *Pralaya* or the *Ekārṇava* state (Great Deluge) in which the whole of the universe up to the *Svar-Loka* is destroyed. This *Pralaya* is called *naimittika* as it is occasioned by the Night of Brahmā when he remains asleep (or inactive).[1] At the end of Brahmā's life of his 100 years (360×100 Kalpas) the entire universe including even Brahmā and all other Gods and all the fourteen *Loka-s* are destroyed and merge into their original cause or *Prakṛti* ; hence this *Pralaya* is called the *Prākṛtika Pralaya.*[2] (cf. Viṣṇu-P. VI. 1f.)

Brahmā's full age of his 100 years is called *Para*, and half of this period is called *Parārdha* One *Parārdha* of Brahmā's life has passed, the last Kalpa of this *Parārdha* is also called the *Pādma-Kalpa,* for the Earth (or the world) in that Kalpa is produced in the form of a Lotus from the navel of Viṣṇu; the present Kalpa, whieh is also the first Kalpa of the second *Parārdha* of Brahmās life, is called the Śveta Vārāha-Kalpa. (Vis P. I. 3. 26 f. ; Bhāg III. 11. 33 ff. ; Mt.-P, 164. 5 ; 169. 2f).

As the scheme of the four Yugas is associated with the varying degrees of the *dharma* and *adharma* (i.e. the gradual deterioration of dharma, and gradual increase of *adharma* from the Kṛta-Yuga to the Kali-Yuga), this scheme is said to prevail in the Bhāratavarṣa only out of the nine *Varṣa-s* of the Jambu-dvīpa, and not in the remaining eight *Varṣa-s* where there is no *dharma* and *adharma* and no gradation of high and low in their social order (cf. Viṣṇu.-P. II. 3. 19—चत्वारि भारते वर्षे युगान्यत्र महामुने । कृतं त्रेता द्वापरश्च कलिश्चान्यत्र न क्वचित् ।[3] In this respect these Yugas may be likened to the six *Ṛtus* (seasons)

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1. Cf. also Viṣṇu-P. I. 3. 18 ff.
2. The *jala-plava* (Deluge) after each Manvantara may not be universal, but this *Naimittika Pralaya* is universal. A *jala-plava* is mentioned in the Matsya-Purāṇa, when the Matsya incarnation of Viṣṇu narrated the Matsya-Purāṇa to Vaivasvata Manu. So this *jala-plava* might have occured after the sixth (Cākṣuṣa) Manvantara or in the beginning of the seventh Manvantara.
3. Cf. also Viṣṇu-P. II. 1. 25-26

यानि किंपुरुषादीनि वर्षाण्यष्टौ महामुने ।
तेषा स्वाभाविकी सिद्धिः सुखप्राया ह्ययत्नतः ॥
विपर्ययो न तेष्वस्ति जरामृत्युभयं न च ।
धर्माधर्मौ न तेष्वास्तां नोत्तमाधममध्यमाः ॥

also cf. *ibid*, II. 2 53-55.

THE PRESENT AGE OF THE EARTH

The present Kalpa is the *Vārāha-Kalpa,* of which the following period has already elapsed:—

6 Manvantaras =	1,85,14,28,574 human years
+27 Mahāyugas =	11,66,40,000 human years (of the present *Vaivasvata* Manvantara).
+ 3 Yugas (Satya, Dvapara, Kali) =	38,88,000 human years
+ Past period of Kali (28th) =	5070 years (up to A. D. 1969).
Total Period elapsed =	1,97,19,61,544 years

This period may be taken, according to the Purāṇas, as the age of the present creation or *sṛṣṭi.* In the beginning the earth was only in the atomic form. It was in the womb of the cosmic water, and later on, it emerged from those waters as they gradully dried up by the Sun's rays, (that is what the episode of the *Pṛthivi-uddhāra* by God *Varāha* may indicate). So the real age of the present solid earth may be less than the above calculation of the present age of the *sṛṣṭi,* which surprisingly comes close to the geological time scale calculation as given below:

ORIGIN OF

THE GEOLOGICAL

Eras	Periods and Systems	Derivation of Names	
CAINOZOIC Kainos or Cenos = recent Zoe = life (Recent-life)	QUATERNARY		
	Recent or Holocene	Holos = complete	'cene' from Kainos = recent
	Glacial or Pleistocene	Pleiston = most	
	TERTIARY		
	Pliocene	Pleion = more	
	Miocene	Meion = less	
	Oligocene	Oligos = few	
	Eocene	Eos = dawn	
MESOZOIC Mesos = middle (Mediæval life	CRETACEOUS	Creta = chalk	
	JURASSIC	Jura mountains	
	TRIASSIC	Threefold divission in Germany	
PALÆOZOIC Palaios = ancient (Ancient life)	PERMIAN	Permia, anc. kingdom E. of Volga	
	CARBONIFEROUS	Coal-bearing	
	DEVONIAN or OLD RED SANDSTONE	Devon (marine sediments) (Land sediments of same period)	
	SILURIAN	Silures anc tribe of Welsh border	
	ORDOVICIAN	Ordovices, anc tribe, N. Wales	
	CAMBRIAN	Cambria = Wales	
PRE-CAMBRIAN ERAS			
	PROTEROZOIC	Proteros = Earlier	
	ARCHÆOZOIC	Archæos = Primæval	
	EOZOIC	Eos = Dawn	
UNRECORDED INTERVAL			
ORIGIN OF THE EARTH			

THE EARTH

TIME SCALE*

Approximate dates in years	Distinctive Life
25,000 1,000,000	Modern Man Stone-Age Man
15,000,000 35,000,000 50,000,000 70 000,000	Mammals and Flowering Plants
120,000,000 150,000,000 190,000,000	Reptiles
220,000,000 280,000,000	Amphbians and Primitive Plant
320,000,000	Fishes
350,000,000 400,000,000 500,000,000	Invertebrates First appearance of abundant fossils
	Scanty remains of Sponges and Seaweeds
at least 1,750,000,000	No direct fossil evidence of Life
Unrecorded Interval	
at least 2,000,000,000	

*This Geological Time Scale showing the date of the origin of the Earth has been taken from Arthur Holmes, *Principles of Physical Geology*, pp. 104-105. It has been kindly supplied by Dr Arup Deb, Department of Geology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

कर्मयोगः

कार्यमित्येव यत्कर्म नियतं सङ्गवर्जितम् ।
क्रियते विदुषा कर्म तद् भवेदपि मोक्षदम् ॥

अथवा यदि कर्माणि कुर्यान्नित्यान्यपि द्विजः ।
अकृत्वा फलसंन्यासं बध्यते तत्फलेन तु ॥

तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन त्यक्त्वा कर्माश्रितं फलम् ।
अविद्वानपि कुर्वीत कर्माप्नोति चिरात् पदम् ॥

कर्मणा क्षीयते पापमैहिकं पौर्विकं तथा ।
मनः प्रसादमन्वेति ब्रह्मविज्ञायते नरः ॥

कर्मणा सहिताज्ज्ञानात् सम्यग्योगोऽभिजायते ।
ज्ञानं च कर्मसहितं जायते दोषवर्जितम् ॥

तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन यत्र तत्राश्रमे रतः ।
कर्माणीश्वरतुष्ट्यर्थं कुर्यान्नैष्कर्म्यमाप्नुयात् ॥

संप्राप्य परम ज्ञानं नैष्कर्म्यं तत्प्रसादतः ।
एकाकी निर्ममः शान्तो जीवन्नेव विमुच्यते ॥

वीक्षते परमात्मानं परं ब्रह्म महेश्वरम् ।
नित्यानन्दी निराभासस्तस्मिन्नेव लयं व्रजेत् ॥

तस्मात्सेवेत सततं कर्मयोगं प्रसन्नधीः ।
तृप्तये परमेशस्य तत्पदं याति शाश्वतम् ॥

(कूर्मपु० १. ३. १९-२७)

A NOTE ON KAPĀLAMOCANA

In the *Purāṇa*, X. 2 (July 1968), Devendra Handa has described a *tīrtha* called Kapālamocana in the Kuruksetra region In the same journal, XI, 1 (January 1969), V. Raghavan has referred to the existence of one or two *tīrthas* of this name in Kashmir.

It is certain that a homonymous *tīrtha* existed at Vārāṇasī as well. Thus one of the copper-plates of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govindacandra (*c.* A. D. 1114-55) found at Kamauli, District Vārāṇasī, says that the ruler bathed in Kapālamocana-*ghaṭṭa* on the Gaṅgā at Vārāṇasī before making the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa in *samvat* 1178, i. e. A. D 1122 (*Epigraphia Indica*, IV, pp. 109-11)

Prof. Anand Swarup Gupta, Editor-in-charge of this journal, has very kindly drawn my attention to a legend in the *Vāmana-Purāṇa* (ed Anand Swarup Gupta, All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1967), *adhyāya* 3, verses 47-51, about a pond called Kapālamocana at Vārāṇasī. Other references to this Vārāṇasī *tīrtha* in the Purāṇas are not lacking, see Moti Chandra, *Kāśī kā Itihāsa* (Bombay, 1962), pp 172, 176 and 185.

It appears therefore that there were many *tīrthas* of this name at different places.

—A. GHOSH

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(JANUARY-JUNE, 1969)

PURĀṆA-WORK

KURMA-PURĀṆA-WORK

The Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa with its English and Hindi translations having been published last year, the work of the Critical Edn. of the Kūrma Purāṇa is now in hand. The following preliminary work is being done for this purpose:—

(A) *Collation*—The following MSS. of the Kūrma-Purāṇa have been collated—

(a) *Devanāgarī Manuscripts*

1. No. 41 of 1881, from the B.O.R.I., Poona, dated Saṁvat 1615 (A. D. 1558).
2. No. 5589, from the V.V.I. Hoshiarpur, dated Saṁvat 1679 (A. D. 1622).
3. E. 3346, from the India Office Library, London.
4. PM. 2418. I. & II. (Two Volumes), from the Adyar Lib., Madras.

(b) *Bengali Manuscripts*

5. No. 2845 from the Dacca University; Microfilm.
6. No. 398 (G4492-5-F7), from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

(c) *Oriyā Manuscript*

7. No. 75139, from the Adyar Library, Madras; containing only the Uttarārdha-text.

(d) *Nandi-Nāgarī Manuscript*

8. A Palm-leaf MS. from the Śṛṅgerī Maṭha, Mysore.

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जनवरी—जून, १९६९)

पुराणकार्यम्

कूर्मपुराणस्य कार्यम्

विगतवर्षे वामनपुराणस्य आंग्ल-हिन्दी-अनुवादसंस्करणाभ्यां सहितस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणस्य प्रकाशने जाते सति वर्तमानसमये कूर्मपुराणस्य समीक्षित-संस्करणसम्बन्धे कार्यजातं प्रचरति। एतत्संबन्धे अधोलिखितानि पूर्वकार्याणि सम्पाद्यन्ते :—

(अ) अधोऽङ्कितकूर्मपुराणहस्तलेखाः सम्यक् संपादिताः :—

(क) देवनागरीहस्तलेखाः ; यथा—

१. संख्या ४१ आफ् १८८१, पूनास्थ भण्डारकर शोधससंस्थानतः, कालः संवत् १६१५ (१५५८ ई०)।

२. स० ५५८९, वी० वी० आइ० होशियारपुरतः, कालः सम्वत् १६७९ (१६२२ ई०)।

३. ई० ३३४६, लन्दनस्थ इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरीतः।

४. पी० एम० २४१८, १ तथा २. (भागद्वयम्), मद्रासस्थ-अड्यारलाइब्रेरीतः।

(ख) बंगला-हस्तलेखाः ; यथा—

५. संख्या २८४५ माइक्रोफिल्म ; ढाकाविश्वविद्यालयतः।

६. संख्या ३९८ (G 4492-5-F7), कलिकातायाः एसियाटिक-सोसाइटीतः।

(ग) उड़िया-हस्तलेख :—

७. सं० ७५१३९, मद्रासस्थ-अड्यारपुस्तकालयतः (उत्तरार्द्धभागः केवलम्)

(घ) नन्दिनागरी-हस्तलेख :—

८. एकः ताडपत्र-हस्तलेखः, मैसूरस्य श्रृंगेरीमठात्।

(c) *Grantha Manuscript*

9. A Palm-leaf MS. purchased from Madras, containing only the Pūrvārdha-text.

The following Manuscripts are being collated:—

1. D. 10427 from the Sarasvati Mahal, Tanjore, Devanāgarī; microfilm copy procured, photo-copy prepared here by the Purāṇa Deptt.
2. No. C. 371 from the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore; Devanāgarī; microfilm copy procured; photo-copy prepared by the Purāṇa Deptt.
3. A Palm-leaf MS. No. 6036, from the V.V.I. Hoshiarpur, Grantha script; complete.

Efforts are also being made to procure a complete MS. of Oriya from the Raghunandan Library Puri, a Malayalam MS. from the Kerala University, Trivandrum, and a Kashmiri MS. from the Dharmārtha Trust, Jammu.

(B) *Other Work*

(a) A subject-concordance of the parallel topics of the Kūrma Purāṇa with the Epics and the other Purāṇas is being prepared. The parallel topics from the Matsya, Vāmana, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa have been noted by this time.

(b) Name-index of persons, places, rivers, mountains, tīrthas etc. from the Kūrma-Purāṇa is under preparation.

(c) Kūrma Purāṇa quotations from the *Nibandhas* and the *Smṛti-ṭīkās* are being collected.

'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN

The Vasanta-Pañcamī Number of the Purāṇa Bulletin (XI. 1) was published on the Vasanta-Pañcamī day, (January 22, 1969), consisting of pp. 202, and containing articles on Purāṇic topics, besides a Stuti with comment, Sūktis, notes and Book-Reviews.

We regret to inform that owing to some unavoidable circumstances the present July issue of the Purāṇa-Bulletin is not being published as the 'Vāmana-Purāṇa-Number' as had been proposed and stated in the last Vasanta-Pañcamī issue (XI. 1). It is hoped that the next January issue (XII. 1) will be published as the 'Vāmana Purāṇa Number'.

(ङ) ग्रन्थ-हस्तलेखा :—

९. एकः ताडपत्रीयहस्तलेखः पूर्वार्धभागमय एव मद्रासनगरात् क्रीतः।
निम्नाङ्कितानां हस्तलेखानां संवादकार्यं प्रचलति :—

१. डी० १०४२७ सरस्वतीमहल-तञ्जोरतः, देवनागरीलिप्यां ; माइक्रोफिल्मः, फोटोप्रतिः पुराणविभागद्वारा निर्मिता।

२. संख्या सी. ३७१ ओरियन्टल रिसर्च इन्स्टीच्यूट माइसूरात् देवनागरी लिप्यां; माइक्रोफिल्मः, फोटोप्रतिः पुराणविभागद्वारा निर्मिता।

३. एकः सम्पूर्णः ताडपत्रहस्तलेखः सं० ६०३६, वी० वी० आइ० होशियारपुरात् ग्रन्थलिप्यां लिखितः प्राप्तः।

अन्यच्च, प्रयत्नाः क्रियन्ते उडियालिप्यां एकस्य संपूर्णस्य हस्तलेखस्य संप्राप्तये पुरीस्थात् रघुनन्दनपुस्तकालयात्। अपरस्य मलयालमहस्तलेखस्य केरलविश्वविद्यालयात् त्रिवेन्द्रमस्थितस्य, तथाऽन्यस्य च काश्मीरीहस्तलेखस्य च धर्मार्थ ट्रस्ट जम्मू इत्यस्य स्थानात् प्राप्तये।

(आ) इतरकार्याणि

(अ) कूर्मपुराणस्य इतरपुराणैः इतिहासग्रन्थाभ्यां च सह साम्यं भजतां कूर्मपुराणविषयाणां सूची निर्मीयमाणा वर्तते। अद्यावधि मत्स्यवामनवायुब्रह्माण्ड-पुराणानां समानविषयाणां सूची प्रस्तुता वर्तते।

(आ) कूर्मपुराणस्थानां व्यक्ति-स्थान नदी-पर्वत-तीर्थादीनां नामसूची अपि निर्मीयमाणा वर्तते।

(इ) निबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः स्मृतिटीकाभ्यश्च कूर्मपुराणश्लोकानामुद्धरणानि संगृह्यमाणानि वर्तन्ते।

'पुराणम्' पत्रिका

'पुराणं' पत्रिकायाः वसन्तपञ्चम्यङ्कः (११.१) वसन्तपञ्चमीदिने (२२ जनवरी १९६९ दिनाङ्के) प्रकाशितो जातः। तस्मिन्नङ्के २०२ पृष्ठानि सन्ति। तत्र सूक्तिटिप्पणीस्तुत्यादीनामतिरिक्तं पुराणवाङ्मयोपरि नानानिबन्धाश्चासन्। इदं सखेदं निवेदनीयं यद् अयमङ्कः वामनपुराणाङ्को भविष्यतीति वसन्तपञ्चम्यङ्के सूचितं अपरिहार्यकारणैः तथा न जातम्। आशास्महे आगामी जनवरी-अङ्कः वामनपुराणाङ्को भविष्यतीति।

PURĀṆA PĀṬHA AND PRAVACANA

1. From Māgha, Śukla 1 to 9 (January 19 to 26, 1969) the whole of the Devī-Bhāgavata was recited and discourses on it were given by Pt. Thakur Prasad Dvivedi of Ramnagar in the Sumeru Mandir.
2. From Fālguna, Kṛṣṇa 2 to 13 (February 5-16, 1969) the whole of the Vāmana Purāṇa was recited from its Critical Edition in the morning and discourses on it were given in the evening in the Śiva-temple by Pt. Thakur Prasad Dvivedi.

VEDA-PĀRĀYAṆA

From Māgha, Śukla 1 to 15 (January 19 to Feb. 2, 1969) the complete texts of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda, Taittirīya-Śākhā with its Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad were recited from memory by Pt. Bhaskara Vaiśampayana of Bilaspur (M. P.) in the Veda Vyāsa temple inside the Ramnagar Fort. Pt. Sri Krishna Murti Ghanapathi of Kashi was the Śrotā. The reciter was awarded a certificate of merit and a *ratna Kaṅkaṇa* by His Highness.

JYOTIṢA-SAMMELANA

The All-India Kashiraj Trust held a Jyotiṣa-Sammelana in the Shivala Palace, Varanasi, on 26 March, 1969 under the chairmanship of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. The topic for the discussion was बाणवृद्धिरसक्षय (i. e. an increase upto five ghaṭikās and a decrease upto six ghaṭikās in the duration of a *tithi* or lunar day) versus सप्तवृद्धिदशक्षय (an increase upto seven ghaṭikās and a decrease upto ten ghaṭikās in a *tithi*). Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid maintained and explained the principle of बाणवृद्धिरसक्षय according to the Śākalya-Samhitā.

Jyotisa-scholars mainly belonging to the Banaras Hindu University and the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University and other local scholars took part in the discussion. The Vice-Chancellor of the Sanskrit University, Dr. Gauri Nath Shastri, was also present on this occasion. A Sub-Committee was formed for further consideration and discussion.

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

१. माघशुक्लप्रतिपदामारभ्य नवमीं तिथिं यावत् (जनवरी १९-२६, १९६९) सम्पूर्णदेवीभागवतस्य पाठः सुमेरुमन्दिरे कृतः। तद्विषये रामनगर-वासिना श्रीठाकुरप्रसादद्विवेदिमहोदयेन प्रवचनं कृतम्।

२. फाल्गुनकृष्णद्वितीयामारभ्य त्रयोदशीं यावत् (फरवरी ५-१६, १९६९) संपूर्णवामनपुराणस्य पाठः समीक्षितसंस्करणतः शिवमन्दिरे प्रातःकाले जातः। एतद्विषयकं प्रवचनं सायाह्नसमये पण्डितठाकुरप्रसादद्विवेदिना कृतम्।

वेदपारायणम्

माघ शुक्ल १ तिथिम् आरम्भ १५ तिथिं यावत् (जनवरी १९—फरवरी २, १९६९) कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य ब्राह्मणारण्यकोपनिषदैः सह सम्पूर्णायाः तैत्तिरीय-संहितायाः कण्ठस्थः पाठः विलासपुर (मध्यप्रदेश) निवासिना पण्डितभास्क-रवैशंपायनमहोदयेन रामनगरदुर्गस्थवेदव्यासमन्दिरे कृतः। काशीवास्तव्यः पण्डितकृष्णमूर्ति घनपाठी श्रोता आसीत्। तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः पाठकर्त्रे प्रशंसापत्रं रत्नकङ्कणं च प्रदत्तम्।

ज्योतिषसम्मेलनम्

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने वाराणसीस्थशिवालाप्रासादे २६ मार्च १९६९ दिनाङ्के तत्रभवतां काशिनरेशमहाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानां साभापत्ये ज्योतिषसम्मेलनं संजातम्। विवेचनीयौ पक्षौ आस्ताम्—'बाणवृद्धिरसक्षयः' अर्थात् चान्द्रतिथौ पञ्चघटिका यावत् वृद्धिः षड्घटिका यावत् ह्रासश्च, तथा 'सप्तवृद्धिदशक्षयः' अर्थात् सप्तघटिका यावत् वृद्धिः दशघटिका यावत् ह्रासश्च। पण्डितराजेश्वरशास्त्रीद्रविडमहोदयः शाकल्यसंहिता-नुसारतः बाणवृद्धिरसक्षयसिद्धान्तस्य व्याख्यां कृतवान्। हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य च विद्वांसः अन्ये विद्वांसश्च अस्मिन् विषये विवेचनं कृतवन्तः। वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्योपकुलपतिः डा० गौरीनाथशास्त्री अपि उपस्थितः आसीत्। अग्रिमविचारार्थं एका उपसमितिर्निर्मिता।

KŪRMA-JAYANTĪ

As the Purāṇa Department is now doing the work on the Kūrma-Purāṇa, it celebrated the Kūrma-Jayantī on the Vaiśākha-Pūrṇimā, May 1, 1969. His Highness also graced the occasion. *Havana* and *Pūjā* were performed and *prasāda* was distributed.

SCHOLARS WHO CONTACTED THE PURĀṆA DEPARTMENT

The following scholars and research students contacted the Purāṇa Department either personally or by correspondence for obtaining them certain Purāṇic material and data :—

1. Mr. James Macdonald, International Hostel B. H. U., Varanasi required some data on the ghāṭas of Varanasi as recorded in the Kāśī-Khaṇḍa of the Skanda-Purāṇa or as known traditionally, and he personally visited the Purāṇa Department for this perpose.

2. Dr. Jagadish S. Sharma, Librarian of the Punjab University Library, was supplied the required information on the geographical names connected with the ancient Indian history.

3. A Professor of the Sanskrit and Philosophy Department, Gujarat Vidyapith has been supplied certain information on the Devī-Bhāgavata which he required for his Ph. D. students.

4. Miss Shashi Mathur, 6-E, Karol Bagh, New Delhi, Research Scholar, working on the cultural Study of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, wanted information about the available manuscripts of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, which was supplied to her.

5. Miss Santosh Bagai, 10-A/7, East Patel Nagar, Delhi-8, who is a lecturer in Sanskrit in a Women's College of the University of Delhi, and also doing research on the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, in her letter of 25. 4. 69 appreciates the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin and considers it as "indispensable for Research Scholars." She wanted to supply her a list of the articles on the Viṣṇu Purāṇa published in the various issues of the Purāṇa-Bulletin, which list has been supplied to her.

कूर्मजयन्ती

यतस्तु पुराणविभागे संप्रति कूर्मपुराणकार्यं प्रचरति अतः अस्मिन् विभागे वैशाखपूर्णिमा दिने (मई १, १९६९) कूर्मजयन्ती आयोजिता आसीत्। अस्मिन्नवसरे तत्रभवन्तः काशिनरेशमहोदया अपि उपस्थिता आसन्। हवन-पूजनानन्तरं प्रसादवितरणं जातम्।

पुराणविभागेन सह संपर्कं स्थापयितारो विद्वासः

अधोनिर्दिष्टा विद्वांसः अनुसंधित्सवश्च वैयक्तिकरूपेण पत्रेण वा पौराणिक-सामग्रीप्राप्तये पुराणविभागेन सह संपर्कं स्थापितवन्तः—

१. इण्टरनेशनल होस्टल, का० हि० वि०, वाराणसी, इत्यत्रत्यः श्रीजेम्स मैकडानल्डमहोदयः—अयं महानुभावः स्कन्दपुराणस्य काशीखण्डे वर्णितानामथवा परम्परायाम् वर्णितानां काशीघट्टानां विषये किञ्चिद्विवरणं प्राप्तुं पुराणविभागे आगतः।

२. पञ्जाबविश्वविद्यालयस्य पुस्तकालयाध्यक्षः डा० जगदीशशरणशर्म-महोदयाय प्राचीनेतिहासेन संबद्धानि कानिचित् भौगौलिकविवरणानि प्रदत्तानि।

३. गुजरात विद्यापीठस्य संस्कृतदर्शनविभागयोरेकस्मै प्राध्यापकमहोदयाय देवीभागवतपुराणविषयकं किञ्चिद्विवरणं प्रदत्तम्। अयम् महानुभावः स्वशोध-छात्रेभ्यः विवरणमिदं वाञ्छति स्म।

४. ६—ई. करोलबाग नयी दिल्ली वास्तव्या कुमारी शशिमाथुरमहोदया, या विष्णुपुराणस्य सांस्कृतिकाध्ययनविषये शोधं करोति, विष्णुपुराणस्योपलब्ध-हस्तलेखानां विषये जिज्ञासितवती। एषा सूचना तस्मै प्रदत्ता।

५. १०-ए/७ ईस्ट पटेलनगर दिल्ली-८ इत्यत्र वास्तव्या विश्वविद्यालयस्य एकस्मिन् महिलामहाविद्यालये प्राध्यापिका कुमारी सन्तोषवर्गमहोदया, या विष्णुपुराणविषये अनुसंधानं करोति, २५।४।६९ दिनाङ्किते स्वपत्रे 'पुराण' पत्रिकां प्रशंसितवती। सा इमां पत्रिकां शोधछात्रेभ्य नितान्तं महत्त्वपूर्णां मन्यते। सा विष्णुपुराणविषयकानां लेखानां सूचीं वाञ्छति स्म। एषा सूची तस्यै प्रेषिता।

SCHOLARS WHO VISITED THE PURĀṆA DEPARTMENT

1. Maharaja-Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, Sitamau, Our Trustee.—4. 1. 69.

2. Dr. W. Norman Brown, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit, University of Pennsylvania.—16. 1. 69.

He has remarked in our Visitors' Book as follows --"The work of editing the texts of the Purāṇas, with English and Hindi translations, is one of the important project in the study of India's tradition. The volume of work involved in collecting, selecting and collating manuscripts is enormous, but is only a beginning. The judgment required to unraval the relationship of the manuscripts, the fine discrimination needed to determine the correct readings, and now, as in the case of the works being edited here, the mastery of other languages than the original essential to the making of the translations, all call for a rare combination of abilities. Indic scholarship in general is being put under a heavy and pleasant—obligation by the scholars who have planned and are executing this important labour."

3. Dr. Ainslie T' Embree, Department of Middle East Languages and Cultures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.—16. 1. 69.

4. Dr. D. D. Karve, formerly Principal, Fergusson college, University of Poona —16. 1. 69.

5. Shri V. R. Nambiar, Executive Officer, American Academy of Benares, Varanasi.—16-1-69.

6, Shri Vinod Dvivedi, Nptional Museum, New Delhi :— 1. 3. 69.

7. Dr. G. M. Bongard-Levin, Institute for Oriental Studies, Moscow, USSR.—14.3.69.

We are grateful to all these scholars for taking interst in our work.

पुराणविभागे आगता विद्वांसः

१. सीतामऊ (मालवा) वास्तव्यः न्याससदस्यश्च महाराजकुमार डा० रघुबीरसिंहमहोदयः ४-१-६९ दिनाङ्के।

२. पेनसिलवानिया विश्वविद्यालये संस्कृतस्य 'इमरिटसप्रोफेसर' पदभाक् डा. डब्ल्यू० नारमन ब्राउनमहोदयः १६. १. ६९ दिनाङ्के।

अयं महाशयः पुराणविभागस्य दर्शकपुस्तिकायां लिखति—भारतीयपरम्परायाः अध्ययने हिन्दी-आंग्लभाषयोः अनुवादेन सह पुराणानां संपादनं महत्त्वपूर्णं कार्यमस्ति। हस्तलेखानां संग्रहस्य चयनस्य संवादस्य च कार्यं अति कठिनं व्यापकं च वर्तते। इदं कार्यं प्रारब्धम् एव वर्तते। अस्मिन् कार्ये हस्तलेखानां संबन्धं दर्शयितुं योग्यता, उचितपाठग्रहणस्य विवेकः तथा च यादृशं कार्यं प्रचरति तस्मिन् अनुवादकार्यार्थं अन्यभाषाणामपि पाण्डित्यमपेक्षते। इदं कार्यं विशिष्ट-योग्यतासापेक्षमस्ति। इदं कार्यं यैः विद्वद्भिः प्रस्तावितं यैश्च क्रियतेऽत्र तेषां अतिकृतज्ञा वर्तते भारतीविद्या।

३. डा. ऐनस्लाइ टी० इम्ब्री (Dr. Ainslie T. Embree) न्यूयार्कस्थकोलम्बियाविश्वविद्यालये एशियामहाद्वीपस्य मध्यपूर्वदेशीयभाषानां संस्कृतेश्च अध्यापकः १६-१-६९ दिनाङ्के।

४. डा. डी० डी० कर्वे महोदयः, पुण्यपत्तनस्थफर्गुसनमहाविद्यालय-स्यावकाशप्राप्त आचार्यः १६-१-६९ दिनाङ्के।

५. अमेरिकन अकादमी, वाराणसी इत्यत्रत्यः श्री वी० आर० नाम्बि-यार महोदयः १६-१-६९ दिनाङ्के।

६. नेशनल म्युजियम, दिल्ली, इत्यत्रत्यः श्रीविनोदद्विवेदिमहोदयः १-३-६९ दिनाङ्के।

७. इन्स्टीच्यूट फार ओरियण्टल स्टडीज, मास्को, इत्यत्रत्यः डा. जी० एम० बोनगार्ड लेविन महोदयः १४-३-६९ दिनाङ्के।

वयं एतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः विद्वद्भ्यः तेषां अस्मिन्कार्ये रुचिप्रदर्शनार्थं कृतज्ञाः स्मः।

ACTIVITIES OF OUR SISTER-TRUSTS

1. MAHĀRĀJA BANARAS VIDYĀ MANDIR TRUST

(1) YAVĀGRĀYAṆEṢṬI (यवाग्रायणेष्टि)

The above *Iṣṭi* (Yajña or Sacrifice) is performed on the occasion when the barley (*yava*) harvest is reaped by cultivators. This *Iṣṭi* was performed in the Ramnagar Fort in the morning of the Pūrṇimā (full Moon day) of the month of Caitra, April 2, 1969, under the supervision of Panditaraja Shri Rajeshvara Shastri Dravid. The same persons who had acted as yajamāna and priests in the Paurṇamāsa and Darśa Yajñas mentioned in the last issue of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin (XI. 1 , p. 186) also acted as the Yajamāna and Priests in this *Iṣṭi*.

The members of the Sub-committee of the Excutive Body of the Viśva Hindu Sammelana who returned from the Patna Session and halted at Varanasi to hold a meeting of the Committee under the chairmanship of His Highness, also attended the *Iṣṭi* and watched with interest its performance according to the Vedic sacrificial rules as prescribed in the Kalpa-sūtras. The dakṣiṇā was given to the priests in kind (i. e. in the form of bags of wheat).

(2) MAṄGALOTSAVA

Under the auspices of the Mahārāja Banaras Vidyā-Mandir-Trust, the *Mangalotsava* was celebrated in the form of the classical music and dance in the evening of 11 March, 1969, in which the teachers and students of the Music College of the Banaras Hindu University took part. A number of prominent persons of Ramnagar and Varanasi attended. The performance was very successful and was much appreciated.

(3) CHANTING OF THE SĀMAVEDA MANTRAS ON THE VĪṆĀ

A Vedic scholar from Madras chanted some Sāmaveda mantras on the Vīṇā in the Ramnagar fort in the evening of 20-5-69. Many learned scholars, such as Dr. Gaurinath Shastri, Vice-Chancellor of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University, Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Prof. Lalmani Miśra, Head of the Department of Music, Banaras Hindu University, Shri Jyoti-bhushan Gupta, attended this attractive and novel performance. An interesting discussion on *svaras* and *śrutis* followed in which Dr. Gaurinath Shastri and Prof. Lalmani Misra were the main participants. Rupees hundred and one were given as *dakṣiṇā* by His Highness to the Vedic sholar who gave the performance:

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

१. महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिर ट्रस्ट

(i) यवाग्रायणेष्टिः

एषा इष्टिः यवान्नस्य लवनकाले भवति । एषा इष्टि रामनगरदुर्गे पंडितराजश्रीराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविडमहोदयस्य निर्देशने चैत्रशुक्लपूर्णिमायाः प्रातःकाले (अप्रैल २, १९६९) संपन्ना । ते एव जनाः अस्यामपि इष्ट्यां यजमानः पुरोहिताश्च आसन् ये दर्शपौर्णमासयज्ञे यजमानपुरोहिता आसन् येषां नामानि च 'पुराण'पत्रिकायाः गताङ्के (११-१, पृ० १८६) प्रकाशितानि । विश्वहिन्दूसम्मेलनस्य कार्यसमितेः उपसमित्याः सदस्याः, ये पटनासम्मेलनतः काश्यां तत्रभवतः काशिनरेशस्याध्यक्षतायां समित्याः सम्मेलनं कर्तुमागता आसन्, महताऽऽदरेण इष्टिं दृष्टवन्तः । एषा इष्टिः कल्पसूत्रेषु विहितवैदिकनियमानुसारेण संपन्ना । पुरोहितेभ्यः अन्नस्य दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता ।

(ii) मङ्गलोत्सवः

महाराज-बनारस-विद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने ११ मार्च १९६९ दिनाङ्कस्य सायंकाले शास्त्रीयसंगीतरूपेण नृत्यरूपेण च मङ्गलोत्सवः संपन्नो जातः । अस्मिन् काशीहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयान्तर्गतसंगीतमहाविद्यालयस्य छात्रा अध्यापकाश्च प्रदर्शका आसन् । रामनगरस्य काश्याश्च बहवः शिष्टा उपस्थिता आसन् । प्रदर्शनं सफलं प्रशंसितं च जातम् ।

(iii) वीणायाः साहाय्येन सामवेदमन्त्राणां गानम्

२० मई १९६९ दिनाङ्कस्य सायंकाले रामनगरदुर्गे मद्रासनगरादागतः एको विद्वान् वीणायां केषाञ्चित्सामवेदमन्त्राणां गानमकरोत् । बहवः विद्वांसो, यथा वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्योपकुलपतिः डा० गौरीनाथशास्त्री, पंडितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविडः, हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य संगीतविभागाध्यक्षो डा० लालमणिमिश्रः तथा श्रीज्योतिभूषणगुप्तमहोदयश्च, उपस्थिता आसन् । स्वरविषये श्रुतिविषये च उपयोगी विमर्शो जातो यस्मिन् डाक्टर गौरीनाथशास्त्री तथा डाक्टर लालमणि मिश्रः प्रमुखविवेचकौ आस्ताम् । तत्रभवता काशिनरेशमहोदयेन गानकर्त्रे विदुषे एकशतमुद्रायाः दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता ।

2. MAHARAJA KASHI NARESH DHARMAKĀRY-NIDHI (TRUST)

(1) The Trustees of the Maharaja Kashi-naresh Dharma-Karya-Nidhi under the presidentship of Maharaja Kashinaresh were pleased to approve a scheme of memorising the complete Samhitā of the Śukla-Yajurveda with its bulky Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and the related Upaniṣads and Āraṇyakas. It is estimated that it will take at least ten to twelve years to memorise the whole of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

Under this scheme the Vedic scholar, Pt. Sakha Ram Ji has been specially deputed to prepare students in this Śākhā. The teacher would be getting a dakṣiṇā of Rs. 300/- p. m. The three students have been memorising the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa under the guidance of the learned scholar. A scholarship of Rs. 601/- p. m is given to each.

(2) As has been the practice, the above Trust gave a six monthly dakṣiṇā of Rs. 600/- to Pt. Krishna Murti Sroti Sāmavedin on the occasion of the annual function of the Sānga-Veda-Vidyalaya, Varanasi. He has been memorising the complete Saṁhita of the Sāmaveda and its Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AT THE NADESAR HOUSE

The following distinguished persons were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Vibhuti Narayan Singh, at his Nadesar House during the period:—

1. Shri Y.B. Chavan, Home Minister, Govt. of India.
2. Shri Shyam Dhar Mishra, M. P.
3. Shri Jagajivan Ram, Food Minister, Govt of India,
4. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, Sitamau, (Malawa).
5. Shri C.B Gupta, Chief Minister, Govt. of U.P.
6. Shri Mangala Prasad, Minister, Govt. of U.P.
7. Shri B.B. Lal, Chief Secretary, Govt. of U.P.
8. General Ne Bin, Burma.
9. Justice Shashi Kant Varma, Allahabad High Court.
10. Justice K.B. Ashthana, Allahabad High Court.

(२) महाराजकाशिनरेश-धर्मकार्यनिधिः (न्यासः)

(१) तत्रभवतः काशिनरेशस्याध्यक्षतायां महाराजकाशिनरेशधर्मकार्यनिधेः न्यासधारिणः शतपथब्राह्मणेन उपनिषदा आरण्यकेन च सह शुक्लयजुर्वेदस्य संपूर्णां संहितां कण्ठस्थकरणाय योजनां स्वीकृतवन्तः। अनुमीयते समग्रं शतपथब्राह्मणं दशवर्षेषु द्वादशवर्षेषु वा कण्ठगतं भविष्यतीति। अस्यां योजनायां पण्डितसखाराममहोदयः अस्यां शाखायां बालकान् शिक्षितुं नियुक्तो जातः। प्राध्यापकमहोदयः शतत्रयमुद्राणां मासिकीं वृत्तिं प्राप्नोति। त्रयो बालका अस्य निर्देशने शतपथब्राह्मणं कण्ठस्थं कुर्वन्ति तेभ्योऽपि प्रत्येकं षष्टिः मुद्राः प्रतिमासं प्रदीयन्ते।

(२) यथा पूर्वतः प्रचरति, वाराणसीस्थसाङ्गवेदविद्यालयस्य वार्षिकोत्सवावसरे अनेन न्यासेन मासिकवृत्तिरूपेण पण्डितकृष्णमूर्त्तिः श्रौतीत्यस्मै सामवेदविदुषे मासिकवृत्तिरूपेण षट् शतमुद्राः प्रदत्ताः। अयं महानुभावः स्वब्राह्मणोपनिषदा सह सामवेदस्य संपूर्णां संहितां कण्ठस्थं कर्तुं प्रयतमानो वर्तते।

नन्देश्वरभवने विशिष्टा अतिथयः

अस्मिन् कार्यविधौ अधोनिर्दिष्टा महानुभावाः वाराणसीस्थे नन्देश्वरभवने तत्रभवतां काशिनरेश महाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानामतिथय आसन्—

१. श्री यशवन्तराव बलवन्तराव चवणमहोदयः; केन्द्रिय गृहमन्त्री।
२. श्री श्मामधरमिश्रमहोदयः, संसत्सदस्यः।
३. श्री जगजीवनराममहोदयः, केन्द्रिय-खाद्यमन्त्री।
४. महाराजकुमार डा० रघुबीरसिंह महोदयः।
५. श्री चन्द्रभानुगुप्तमहोदयः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य मुख्यमन्त्री।
६. श्री मङ्गलाप्रसादमहोदयः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य मन्त्री।
७. श्री बी० बी० लालमहोदयः, उत्तरप्रदेशस्य मुख्यसचिवः।
८. जेनरल ने बिनमहोदयः, बर्माशासनस्याध्यक्षः।
९. श्री शशिकान्तवर्मामहोदयः, प्रयाग उच्चन्यायालयस्य न्यायाधीशः।
१०. श्री के. बी. अस्थानामहोदयः, प्रयाग उच्चन्यायालयस्य न्यायाधीशः।

11. Shri N.N Banerjee, Vishva Hindu Parisad.
12. Shri N.P. Sharma, Bar-at-Law; Guyana Swatantra Vidvat Parisad; Guyana Pandit's Council.
13. Prof. Ram Singh.
14. Shri Vishwanath Satyanarayan; Vizayavada.
15. Shri Subramanyam.
16. Shri A. T. Kande; Poona.
17. Pt. Brajeshji.
18. Prof. V. G. Deshpande; Patna.
19. Shri Ganga Saran Singh.
20. Sri P. Gokhle; Poona.

११. श्री एन. एन. बैनर्जीमहोदयः, विश्वहिन्दुपरिषदः ।

१२. श्री एन. पी. शर्मा महोदयः, गायनास्थस्वतन्त्र विद्वत्परिषदः अध्यक्षः ।

१३. प्रो० रामसिंहमहोदयः ।

१४. श्री विश्वनाथ सत्यनारायण महोदयः, विजयवाडावास्तव्यः ।

१५. श्री सुब्रह्मण्यममहोदयः ।

१६. श्री ए. टी. काण्डे महोदयः ।

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१८. प्रो० वी. जी. देशपाण्डेमहोदयः ।

१९. श्री गङ्गाशरणसिंह महोदयः ।

२०. श्री पी. गोखलेमहोदयः ; पूनावास्तव्यः ।

NOTICE

The 28 International Congress of Orientalists will be held at the Australian National University Canberra, A.C.T., from 6th to 12th January, 1971. All scholars of the languages, history, literature and culture of Asia are welcome.

Enquiries should be addressed to :

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Australian National University Post Office,

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